MICHIGAN STATE NORMAL COLLEGE

The Christian Century

A Journal of Religion

In Two Parts: Part One

Shall Protestants Accept The Pope's Invitation?

An Editorial

The Third Year of Repeal

By John Haynes Holmes

Fascist Week-end in Montreal

By J. King Gordon

Living in a Time of Crisis

By Ernest Hatch Wilkins

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In This Issue

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

is minister of the Community Church, New York. A nationally recognized leader in the struggle for peace and sobriety, Dr. Holmes has made his annual reviews of the results of return to a legalized liquor traffic an eagerly awaited feature of The Christian Century.

ERNEST HATCH WILKINS

is president of Oberlin College, to which post he came in 1927 after having been dean of the colleges of arts, literature and science of the University of Chicago.

J. KING GORDON

was formerly a member of the faculty of the theological college of the United Church of Canada at Toronto, and is a leader among the younger churchmen of Canada who are determined to apply the ministry of religion to the solution of contemporary social problems. Mr. Gordon is a son of Dr. Charles W. Gordon of Winnipeg, better known to the literary world as "Ralph Connor."

EDWIN EWART AUBREY

is professor of theology at the divinity school of the University of Chicago. Dr. Aubrey, who was born in Scotland, was formerly a teacher at Carleton, Miami and Vassar colleges. He is a brother of Dr. M. E. Aubrey, secretary of the Baptist Union of England.

Coming

When the press reported that A. J. Muste, former head of Brookwood Labor College and leader of the Trotskyite branch of the Communist party in the United States, had announced his re-conversion to absolute, religious pacifism hundreds must have asked themselves, "Why?" Mr. Muste himself answers that question in his forthcoming article, "A Return to Pacifism."

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

November 25, 1936

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WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON, *Literary Editor*

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Calendar of Coming Events

Nov. 26. North Georgia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Atlanta, Ga.
Nov. 26-29. National Preaching Mission, Raleigh, N. C.
Nov. 27. Evangelical youth conferences, South Bend, Ft. Wayne, and Indianapolis, Ind., and Olney, Ill.
Nov. 27, 28. State convention Baptist Young People's Union, Boulder, Colo.
Nov. 29. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Dr. Harold C. Phillips, First Baptist Church, Cleveland, speaker.
Nov. 29. Northern Baptist Youth Conference, Rochester, N. Y.
Nov. 29. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Emil Ludwig, speaker.
Nov. 29-Dec. 1. Indiana State Conference on Social Work, Indianapolis.
Nov. 29-Dec. 2. National Preaching Mission, Philadelphia.
Dec. 1. General Council, Northern Baptist Convention, Stevens Hotel, Chicago.
Dec. 2. Louisiana Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Minden, La.
Dec. 3-6. National Preaching Mission, Boston.
Dec. 5. Interdenominational laymen's retreat, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind.
Dec. 5. Annual convention of the Connecticut Council of Churches and Religious Education, Hartford, Conn.
Dec. 6. Ford hall forum, Boston; Hon. Constantine A. Oumansky, speaker.
Dec. 6. Northern Baptist Youth Conference, Albany, N. Y.
Dec. 6. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Dr. Alexander MacColl, Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, speaker.
Dec. 6-9. National Preaching Mission, New York.
Dec. 7. Indianapolis ministers' association, Roberts Park Methodist Episcopal church, Indianapolis, Ind.
Dec. 7-11. Board of education, Methodist Episcopal church, south, Nashville, Tenn.
Dec. 8. Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals annual meeting, Washington, D. C.
Dec. 9-11. Biennial meeting, Federal Council of Churches, Asbury Park, N. J.
Dec. 10-12. First National Conference on Educational Broadcasting, Hotel Mayflower, Washington, D. C.
Dec. 11-13. Fall meeting of the College of Bishops, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Atlanta, Ga.
Dec. 13. Ford hall forum, Boston; Lord Marley, speaker.
Dec. 13. Northern Baptist youth conference, Urbana, Ill.
Dec. 13-15. National Methodist Education Conference, Biltmore Hotel and St. Mark Church, Atlanta, Ga.
Dec. 14. Philadelphia Ministerial Union, Chambers-Wylie Memorial Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia.
Dec. 20. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Senor Salvador de Madariga, speaker.
Dec. 24. Moravian Christmas Eve vigils, Central Church, Bethlehem, Pa.
Dec. 27. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Congressman Vito Marcantonio, speaker.
Dec. 29-31. National Triennial Conference of University Church Workers, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago.
Jan. 6-8. Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Asbury Park, N. J.
Jan. 11. Indiana Presbyterian synod's council, Indianapolis, Ind.
Jan. 11-14. Annual meeting, Home Missions Council and Council of Women for Home Missions, Asbury Park, N. J.
Jan. 13, 14. National Conference on the City Church, Asbury Park, N. J.
Jan. 13-15. Convocation of ministers, Topeka, Kan.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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EDITORIAL

Balking the Sale Of Airplanes

ANXIETY over one method by which the United States might become involved in Europe's war preparations was relieved last week when President Roosevelt approved an order barring the export of airplanes until the needs and patent rights of the American air forces have been protected. Disregarding the studiously noncommittal language in which the order was couched, what evidently happened was this: Army and navy departments brought to the President's attention reports that Great Britain, in her effort to build up her air forces in the shortest possible time, was negotiating for the purchase of 1,500 planes in this country. The President thereupon gave the state department orders to see that none of these were given export licenses until (a) the building program for our own air forces had been completed and (b) the period during which new patents are to remain secrets of the American government had expired. This means, in actual effect, that Great Britain would get few if any deliveries of fighting planes inside two years. Which probably means that British interest in buying from American firms will disappear. The President's order is, of course, unexceptionable on the basis of the nation's established defense policy. But it is also good statesmanship, for it keeps American industry from becoming involved in a foreign business enterprise that is being conducted with only one factor in mind, the fortunes of war.

Pushing Air Bases Toward Japan

WHILE the administration thus moved to keep reviving American business from getting involved in European war preparations, it simultaneously announced plans in the farther Pacific which it must have known would be interpreted as a new air threat against Japan. Within the compass of a single week it was made known from Washington that government officials had arrived in Honolulu to complete plans for a tremendous expansion of the air base there; that the chief of engineers had finished plans for the army's contemplated half million dollar air base at Midway Island; that a million dollar air base is to be built at Wake Island; that as soon as these new bases have been appropriated for, the army will submit plans for an air base on the island of Guam. All these plans were made public with the bland assurance that they "had no military significance," even though they came from the war department and pushed the system of American air bases more than a thousand miles west of Hawaii. When completed they will, as a matter of fact, put American air bases closer to Japan than Chicago is to San Francisco. No wonder that Japan immediately countered with announcement of plans for air bases and a system of "commercial aviation" across her far-flung mandated islands in the Pacific. As the day for the expiration of the Pacific disarmament treaty (December 31) draws near, the United States and Japan are getting deeper and deeper into a dangerous game of threat and counter-threat, brandishing aviation as their principal weapon. Those Americans who are persuaded of the need for huge appropriations for "defense" will do well to study the map in the light of the army's most recent announcements and see where the area to be defended is being pushed.

Is Medicine About To Rebel?

EVERY time reference is made to the menace of the drunken, or even slightly alcoholized, driver the records of police arrests are trotted out to prove that there is really nothing to worry about. The *New Republic* has recently fallen back on statistics of this sort to assure the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* that there is no provable connection between the use of liquor and the appalling increase in motoring accidents. Yet everyone who has the slightest knowledge of the way in which police records of this sort are compiled knows that they are thoroughly unreliable. No policeman will enter a charge of drunken driving if there is any possible way of getting out of it. What is the truth about this matter? The truth is that no appeal to statistics will ever reveal the full story, and that the only people in the United States who are competent to ren-

der a judgment are members of the staffs of the hospitals to which the victims of automobile crashes are taken. The doctors know what is really happening, and if they ever conclude to take the public into their confidence they will settle this dispute for all time. Is it possible that these doctors are reaching the point at which they will speak out? Last week the chief of staff of the great Cook County (Chicago) Hospital, Dr. Karl A. Meyer, addressed the Federation of Women's Organizations of the county. Declaring himself "sick and tired" of trying to cope with the hospital problem provided by drunken drivers, Dr. Meyer talked in this fashion: "One part alcohol plus one human being plus one automobile can produce a mixture which keeps a part of our staff working frantically for several days. The county funds and our energies should be directed against the natural enemies of mankind and not against enemies which man himself in his own heedlessness manufactures." Even the wet press of Chicago had to print that when said by a man of such standing. Are not other physicians of equal eminence ready to speak? They will be given a hearing.

Dr. Machen's Church Drops The Love of God

AS MIGHT have been expected, the recent General Assembly of the newly formed Presbyterian Church of America discovered its major task to be that of adopting a doctrinal basis for the denomination. Having left the older Presbyterian body because of its "apostasy," Dr. J. Gresham Machen and his associates were under the necessity of defining, for their own followers as well as for the world outside, a statement of what constitutes orthodoxy. What they finally agreed upon—although by the much-less-than-unanimous vote of 57 to 20—is likely to come as a shock to most of those who have any concern for what is to be preached today as Christian truth. Having successfully prevented the premillennialists from inserting in the new constitution a declaration "safeguarding" the orthodoxy of that apocalyptic belief, Dr. Machen drove ahead the forces which he led in the assembly to affirm the Westminster Confession as the doctrinal standard of the new denomination. That, of course, was in accord with the charges made by the Machen group before its secession that the Northern Presbyterian body has been untrue to the faith. But in the action taken at the Philadelphia gathering Dr. Machen made it clear that this charge of apostasy had been leveled, not on the score of Presbyterian unfaithfulness to the Westminster Confession as that document stands today, but unfaithfulness to it in the form in which it stood in 1648! Specifically, the doctrinal basis of Dr. Machen's new church is the Westminster Confession *without the amendments added in 1903*. In plain words, what Dr. Machen and his followers have now done is to deny that the Presbyterians were true Christians when, a generation ago, they expunged from their creed the declaration that children dying in infancy are lost and inserted the assertion that God loves all men. In those days, it will be remembered, while the Presbyterians were debating their creedal position, it was proposed that a footnote might be added to the confession to the effect that the doctrine of reprobation was not to be understood as excluding the love of God. Whereupon Dr. Howard Crosby rose in the assembly and, with uplifted hands, cried: "Brethren, has it come to this, that the Presbyterian church proposes to relegate the love of God to a footnote?" Dr. Machen's new church has not been willing to admit so much as a footnote; from its confession of faith it has now dropped the love of God entirely.

Nobel Prize Goes to Eugene O'Neill

CRITICS and commentators at home and abroad seem to be well satisfied with the award of this year's Nobel prize for literature to the dramatist, Eugene O'Neill. Sinclair Lewis, novelist, is the only other American who has received the award in this field, and in that case the ratification of the committee's verdict by the court of public opinion was something less than unanimous. O'Neill himself generously said that he thought Theodore Dreiser ought to have the prize this year, but the larger public will probably be better satisfied with the decision as it is. O'Neill has been a creative artist in drama. He has not only written good plays; he has created new forms and patterns of drama, and he has dealt both thoughtfully and imaginatively with fundamental ideas. He has not been greatly concerned to make his plays pleasant, or to bring to an edifying conclusion the problems and situations involved in them. He has, at times, seemed to be on the verge of deeper discoveries in the realm of the spirit than any that he has yet made public. But even the most offended spectator of his most unpleasant play could never say that he had dealt frivolously or profanely with the secret places of the heart. The other American winner of a Nobel prize this year is Dr. Carl David Anderson, 31 year old physicist of California Institute of Technology, Pasadena. If it seems surprising that so young a man has done scientific work of such distinction as to win this award, let the wonder grow as it is noted that the award was made for work done four years ago. Cosmic rays are a new field of research, though they have been pouring through the universe for eons, and the new physics is a young man's field.

Another Sign of India's Ferment

MONTH by month the yeast of social ferment accelerates its working in India. A striking new illustration of the changes which are taking place inside the society of that Asiatic sub-continent came to light on November 13 when the Maharajah of Travancore threw open all state temples to his subjects without regard to caste distinctions. "We have decided," said the maharajah's proclamation, "and hereby declare, ordain and command, that subject to such rules and conditions as may be laid down and imposed by us for

preserving their proper atmosphere and maintaining their rituals and observances, there shall henceforth be no restriction placed upon any Hindus by birth or religion on entering or worshiping at temples controlled by us and our government." Travancore is, to be sure, a small state, and long known for its progressive character. But the press of India generally foresees that the example thus set will be rapidly followed by the neighboring Cochin, and possibly even by the great native state of Mysore. It is more than a hundred years since the founders of the Brahma Samaj framed the first modern declaration of the need for Hinduism's reform from within. During all the years since, pure and ardent souls have pursued this effort. Almost without exception they have fastened on the disabilities of the untouchables as one of the iniquities inside Hindu society which must be done away. Mahatma Gandhi is only the most recent in a long line of reformers who have demanded emancipation for the outcastes. Progress toward this goal has seemed dishearteningly slow. In fact, it is only now that appreciable progress begins to be registered. But this proclamation in Travancore indicates that the vast, inert mass of Indian society is beginning to yield to the reformers' pressure. And, as is the case with unwieldy masses, it may prove that when a movement of this sort once gets a real start it will swiftly roll up irresistible momentum.

What Price Sermons?

WITH the words, "The only regrettable aspect was the failure of the local committee to make provision for the participation of the Negro churches," the *Federal Council Bulletin* closes its account of the National Preaching Mission program in Atlanta. It is an enthusiastic account. Sixty-four meetings were held, attended by forty thousand persons; "the largest number of women ever gathered at a single meeting in the city" were present on one occasion; nearly twenty-five hundred regularly attended the seminars on the relation of Christianity to social problems and on similar topics. In fact, there was only one "regrettable" circumstance—no colored Christians were able to take part. But this fact, to which attention has already been given in these pages, is really the only important item in the account. What though there had been twice as many meetings and every white person in the city had been present at all of them, the betrayal of the whole avowed purpose of the preaching mission would only have been the more complete and conspicuous. What sort of "spiritual awakening" can be brought to a city by a group who assent to the exclusion from their fellowship of virtually half the city's population? It is easy to be wise after the event, and there is no denying the difficulty of the position in which the visiting missioners were placed, but would it not have been infinitely better if they had canceled their Atlanta engagement? By doing so they would have administered a salutary rebuke to the fearful local committee and would have strengthened the position of lovers of justice and promoters of interracial fellowship not only in Atlanta but throughout the nation. As it was, the mission in effect acquiesced in a policy of racial exclusion and segregation and not only missed an important opportunity to reinforce enlightened local groups in their effort to build a genuinely interracial community, but weakened and discredited their position. Can any number of sermons be worth such a price?

Will the Legion Heed Its Commander?

PATRIOTIC Americans should hail with approval the stand on civil liberties taken by Harry W. Colmery, national commander of the American Legion. Aroused by the part taken by individual legionnaires in suppressing free speech during the recent campaign, Commander Colmery prints a bold-face message, "Let's Be American!" in the November issue of the *National Legionnaire*. And Mr. Colmery's idea of what constitutes good Americanism turns out to be exactly the same idea as was held by the men who wrote the Constitution of the United States. "The Constitution of the United States," Commander Colmery reminds his comrades, "guarantees freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and it declares that Congress shall not make any law prohibiting or abridging the free exercise of these sound principles. They are the most American thing in the Constitution. Without these wise provisions, we would have no democratic government; indeed, history tells us we would have had no United States of America. It is the sworn obligation of every member of the American Legion to uphold and defend these principles as faithfully, as courageously and as impartially as every other article of the Constitution. We must not deny the right of free speech or peaceable assembly to any person or any group, not even to those whose theories we despise." And so on, for two thousand words more, to drive the point home. This is straight talk, and badly needed. It may mark the turn of the tide within the legion; it may mean that the legion is yet to play a patriotic part. Certainly Commander Colmery deserves all praise (his address is Topeka, Kansas) for doing his part. The question now is, Will local posts heed? Or has the corruption of the patriotic ideal in the local posts already gone too deep?

Madrid Bombed From the Air

CENSORSHIP makes it impossible to know the precise state of affairs in Spain's civil war. Not a dispatch is reaching the outside world, whether from within Madrid or from the rebel lines, which has not been approved by the side from which it emanates. It is necessary, therefore, to resort to a considerable degree of guessing, and that on the basis of most unreliable data. However, as this issue goes to press, Madrid is still uncaptured. The battle for control of the capital goes on with unrelieved ferocity, but the gains claimed by the fascist forces are small and by no

means decisive. The defense of the city seems stronger and more confident today than it was two weeks ago. Madrid is being bombed daily; sometimes several times a day. Bombs have fallen into civilian gatherings, and correspondents with the rebels report great fires burning in certain quarters. But it is evident that this method of attack from the sky has not broken the morale of the defenders. On the contrary, that morale seems to be improving. Does this mean that foreign aid is now reaching the loyalist government in important quantities? It is stated in dispatches sent from inside Madrid that some foreigners—anti-fascists from France, England, Germany and Russia—are now fighting with the loyalist militia. Insistence on the arrival of reinforcements from Catalonia shows that the lines of communication with the sea are open to the capital's defenders. Are the promised Russian planes and tanks actually beginning to arrive? Are Russian fliers and machine-gunners getting into action? One can only guess at the answer, but outside observers show an increasing tendency to guess that this is what is happening. On the basis of this belief, the hope is emerging in liberal quarters throughout Europe that General Franco's fascists have passed their peak, and that the balance of military power is now beginning to swing back to the side of the legal government.

Shall Protestants Accept the Pope's Invitation?

AFTER rejecting for centuries all Protestant overtures for co-operation or consultation about anything, the Vatican has within the past month invited Protestants to join with Roman Catholics in a crusade. To be sure, the invitation is not addressed to Protestant churches as such or to their regularly constituted leaders, for that would be to recognize the existence if not the legitimacy of these organizations. To be sure, also, the invitation contemplates no consultation in regard to plans, methods or objectives. The pope does not consult; he decrees, "*non autem ex consensu ecclesiae*" but by his own authority. Still, if the cause were a good one and not entangled with extraneous or nullifying elements, Protestants might well swallow their pride and co-operate. After all, somebody has to take the first step in any great movement, and the pope occupies a position of honored eminence.

The declared object of the pope's crusade is to fight communism. An Associated Press dispatch from Vatican City opens with this statement: "A world-wide organization, to include both Catholics and Protestants, is being formed by the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs for the fight on communism, prelates disclosed tonight." It did not take long for this pronouncement, backed by a vigorous utterance of the pope against communism and a general call to arms, to stimulate a wide response from Catholic ecclesiastics in both Europe and America. Protestants have been somewhat slow to respond. They are, with negligible exceptions, as hostile to communism as the pope. But they wonder why all the excitement at this particular moment, and what political and social objectives the Vatican wishes to attain by concentrating its attack upon communism.

I

It is perfectly obvious that this is not simply a war against atheism and unbelief, in any sense in which non-Catholics understand those terms. Communism is atheistic, but not all atheism is communistic; and the tactics proposed and pursued in this campaign are not such as are adapted to the winning of unbelievers by persuasion. It is equally evident that the movement is not inspired by devotion to the principles of humanity and liberty which communism is alleged to repudiate, or by horror of the autocracy and brutality which it is charged with practicing, for the violence and autocracy of non-communistic governments evoke no comparable protest.

Sensible Protestants will have nothing to do with the pope's furious onslaught on communism until the false issues that it presents are clarified. And when they are clarified, it will be the more certain that they can have nothing to do with it.

The Roman Catholic fight against communism, as it is developing, is a campaign: first, for the power and privileges of the Roman Catholic church; second, for a fascist type of political and social structure; third, against freedom of opinion and speech; fourth, for an alliance of business with religion and the sanctification of the economic status quo.

Before proceeding to give particulars in support of these statements, it must be said that not all American Catholics are in sympathy with all or any of these ends. It may reasonably be hoped that most of them are not. Certainly some of their most thoughtful and influential spokesmen have shown a clear understanding of the possibility of using denunciations of communism as a decent cloak in which to disguise a reactionary attitude toward all liberal movements for economic reform. Those who have taken to heart the great words of the encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* know this very well. No one knows better, for example, than Monsignor John H. Ryan, leader among American champions of "distributive justice," whose recent radio address clearly stated that the Spanish leftists had gone against the church because the leaders of the church in Spain had long been allied with the enemies of social justice, and that merely denouncing their atheism or defeating their communism would not solve the problem. Many others could be named, though perhaps none equally eminent and outspoken. But these are speaking for their own high conception of the Catholic position at its best, not for the current crusade.

II

It is impossible to consider this new Vatican crusade against communism apart from the struggle in Spain, where the church, after enjoying a monopoly of reli-

gion for centuries, has most to lose in property, privilege and prestige. This furnishes the occasion and the impetus for the crusade. The actual sufferings of priests and nuns have been terrible. They deserve and have the sympathy and sorrow of the civilized world regardless of religious belief. But the civilized world does not exhaust its sympathy upon them. It has a thought also for the civilians on both sides who have suffered. It is not unmindful of the women and children in Madrid who have been blown to bits by bombs dropped from Italian planes.

The standard picture of this cruel war, as it is regularly painted by high Catholic ecclesiastics, is of a contest between chivalrous and knightly soldiers of the cross on one side and a barbaric mob of baby-butchering, nun-raping atheistic communists on the other. The outrageous falsity of such representations is known to every intelligent person who is not too blinded by partisan passion and interest to be able to use the ordinary means of public information. Yet the pope addresses rebel refugees as though they were suffering saints being crucified with Christ. American Roman Catholic papers fill columns with carefully selected atrocities revealing only one side of the story. An English Catholic archbishop protests against calling the government forces anything but "communists," and against referring to Franco's fascist troops as "rebels." Everything is done to conceal the fact that the present Spanish government, whatever it is, is a government elected by free vote of the people and those opposing it *are* rebels who initiated the war and have carried it on with resources furnished by the "great and good people" whose recent triumph in a no less bloody conflict in Ethiopia was hailed with congratulations from the Vatican.

Not the inhumanity of the Spanish civil war, in which respect there is little to choose between the two sides, not the legal status or popular support of the contending parties, in which the odds are all with the loyalists, but the vested interest of the church—*this* is the decisive factor in determining the Vatican's partisanship for the rebels. Protestants will not join a world-wide campaign, under the "Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs," to pull the Catholic church's chestnuts out of the Spanish fire or to make possible the re-establishment of its monoply of religion there.

III

Again, America is not interested in an alliance with any enemy of communism who is a friend of fascism. The Vatican is a friend of fascism. The Jesuit weekly, *America,* stressing the statement that the opposition of the church to communism is solely on the ground of its atheism, says: "The Catholic church is not allied with Hearst, Wall Street, Mussolini, Hitler or the Republican party.... Apart from all governments, all parties, all economic systems, the Catholic church will remain anti-communist as long as communism is atheistic." This, we have no doubt, represents its own intelligent attitude. Facts do not support the claim that it represents the present attitude of the Vatican.

The Vatican is allied with Mussolini. It has made terms with the fascist state for its own aggrandizement. By that agreement it gained temporal sovereignty for its head, increased income from public funds for the support of its churches, the introduction of Roman Catholic teaching into the state schools under the direction of its priests, restrictions upon the activity of its rivals, official recognition and honors for its ecclesiastics, public display of its ceremonials, and finally—the facts have not yet been generally published—the exclusion of all non-Catholic missionaries from the newly conquered province of Ethiopia. In return, it has shown favor to the fascist government by many acts and words inciting the people to loyalty, by withholding any word of criticism upon the policies of violence at home by which the fascist regime was established and is maintained, by giving its indirect but effective sanction to the war of conquest in Africa, by permitting its priests and bishops to aid in the recruiting of soldiers for this war, by pointing out the value of colonial expansion for the advancement of the faith, and by celebrating the victory.

Fascism and communism are the opposite poles of social and political philosophy, nor is either the natural cure for the other. They are too much alike. They fear, hate and fight each other, and they profess diametrically opposite ends, but they seek them by means so similar that in practice the differences are swallowed up in the identities. Theoretically, the aims are in direct contrast. Communism seeks the highest degree of material well-being for every individual in a society made classless by elevation of all to the class known as "workers." Fascism aims at the greatness of the state as its primary and ultimate objective. When the state becomes great, its citizens will feel great through their participation in its glory, even if their standard of living is low. Fascism, like capitalism, preaches the "filter down" theory of welfare and prosperity. Capitalism promises that welfare will filter down from enriched business to the working masses. Fascism promises that glory and honor and ultimately enough material goods to support a decent life will filter down from the omnipotent and glorified state to the "disciplined" individuals.

In the pursuit of these ends, communism and fascism use identical means—autocracy and violence, the dominance of a highly organized minority taking the form of a single party which is not a party but an oath-bound society, suppression of all competing organizations and dissenting voices, denial of civil and religious liberty in the interest of an enforced solidarity. There is as little freedom of enterprise, freedom of political action, freedom of speech and of the press, and freedom of religion under one as under the other. Communism, while repudiating religion on principle as it repudiates private capital, professes to leave the individual free but penalizes those who hold to a religious ideology contrary to the materialistic philosophy of the state, and it cripples or destroys the institutions of religion. Fascism renders lip service to religion and utilizes it for the aggrandizement of the nation. Where a strong fascist state is confronted by a divided church, as in Germany, it is bold to assert its supremacy. Where

the church is strong and united under potent leadership, as in Italy, the state makes terms with the church, exchanges favors, buys blessings with showy honors, penalizes dissent, but reserves its pretension of final authority and meanwhile utilizes the support of the church to build prestige for the government.

The spiritual kinship of fascism and communism is illustrated by the fact that many of the best nazis were formerly communists. Mussolini, it will be remembered, was a socialist before he became a fascist. Fascists and communists alike hold that a supreme collective political end justifies any sacrifice of individual rights. Neither aims at the establishment of a society of free individuals. Both reject with scorn the claims of democracy, majority rule, "parliamentarianism," and everything that can be called political liberalism.

For this reason, we repudiate them both. Fascism is not a bulwark against communism. It is a substitute for it—but a substitute of the same spirit and quality, and no better. The pope, on comfortable terms with fascism in Italy, and willing to make terms with nazism in Germany, declares a general war on communism and summons the world to fight under his banner. The Protestant world will not follow his flag. It does not like his enemy, but it likes his friends no better. The axe and rods that he blesses are as red with blood as the flag with the hammer and sickle that he curses.

IV

Bringing the Catholic crusade against communism into America, Bishop Noll of Fort Wayne puts forth an appeal to all Americans, Protestants and Protestant ministers included, to enlist in the fight on the ground that "now is the time for business and the church to stick together in the common fight." See, he says, what communism has done to religion and business in Russia, and in Spain! Remember that "the great Mark Hanna once said that the Catholic church was the strongest bulwark in the United States against radical socialism!" Bringing Mark Hanna into it is a little too much, but it throws a clear, cold light on Bishop Noll's emotional appeal for the contribution of funds to finance the erection of "a colossal figure of Christ in our national capital." It is impossible to imagine a more complete and devastating revelation of the sordid motive behind this phase of the Catholic anti-communist campaign than this linking together of the names of Mark Hanna and Jesus Christ to whip up the enthusiasm of the affluent and the pious for the joining of God and Mammon in unholy alliance.

We are prepared to hear it said that those who refuse to join in the pope's crusade must be, secretly at least, in favor of communism. One moment, please. Mr. Hearst has long been conducting a crusade of his own against communism. Did the pope ever join that? He did not. Very properly, he did not like the company. A few weeks ago it was brought to the attention of the Vatican that many French Catholics were collaborating with communists for humanitarian ends, and they were sharply rebuked for doing so. Did that mean that the Vatican was opposed to humanitarian movements? Most certainly not. It meant that the Vatican did not propose to be lured into supporting programs it did not favor under guise of supporting things it did favor.

The pope's crusade sets up a false issue. Christianity and communism are not engaged in a death struggle, with all good Christians on one side and with Russia and the Spanish loyalists and some scattered American communists on the other, and with the pope heading the armies of light. But there is a struggle, waxing fiercer day by day, between the forces of violence and tyranny, which are pagan by whatever name they are called, and the forces of liberty and humanity, of justice and gentleness, some of which, at least, are Christian. For an illustration, turn to King Gordon's article on page 1560 of this issue.

It is of the utmost importance that no issue of this sort be permitted to drive a wedge between American Catholics and Protestants, who are beginning to learn how to co-operate in many fruitful years. And it is equally important that the blessing of no church that calls itself Christian be given to any program of tyranny, of economic oppression, of denial of civil and human rights. If the pope wants to link arms with fascist Mussolini on one side and with fascist Franco on the other, and if he proposes to let his American representatives invoke the precious memory of Mark Hanna in the name of the common interests of business and religion, he need not be surprised if the American Protestant responds to the invitation to join a crusade under his leadership with the sweeping gesture and in the words of Cyrano de Bergerac: "No, I thank you! No, I thank you. And again, I thank you!"

The Box Office Speaks

HARRISON'S REPORTS has analyzed the box office records of the 1935-36 crop of motion pictures. The result will hearten all who have faith in the American public's fundamental soundness of taste. Limitation of space precludes a detailed statement covering the nearly five hundred feature pictures produced last season, but here is a list of the 38 pictures that rated either "very good" or "excellent" at the box office:

Mr. Deeds Goes to Town
If You Could Only Cook
Under Two Flags
Steamboat Round the Bend
Thanks a Million
In Old Kentucky
The Littlest Rebel
Prisoner of Shark Island
Country Doctor
Captain January
Show Them No Mercy
China Seas
Broadway Melody
Tale of Two Cities
Rose Marie
A Night at the Opera
Wife Versus Secretary
Small Town Girl
Ah, Wilderness
Trail of the Lonesome Pine
Desire
The Bride Comes Home
The Milky Way
The Moon's Our Home
These Three
The Dark Angel
Top Hat
Follow the Fleet
The Ex-Mrs. Bradford
Modern Times
Strike Me Pink
Little Lord Fauntleroy
The Ghost Goes West
Three Kids and a Queen
The Story of Louis Pasteur
Shipmates Forever
Ceiling Zero
Frisco Kid

This list, with only minor exceptions, coincides with those appraised as best in quality by the National Film Estimate Service and other leading critics.

Conversely, the pictures that flopped at the box office were, with occasional exceptions, those appraised as poorest in quality. Here is a list of equal length from those rated "poor" by the cash registers:

Guard That Girl	Three Godfathers
Grand Exit	Moonlight Murder
Escape from Devil's Island	Pursuit
Too Tough to Kill	Absolute Quiet
One Way Ticket	This Woman is Mine
Dangerous Intrigue	Without Regret
Lady Regrets	Two Fisted
You May Be Next	Ship Cafe
Hell Ship Morgan	Coronado
Don't Gamble With Love	Millions in the Air
Pride of the Marines	It's a Great Life
Dressed to Thrill	Her Master's Voice
Redheads on Parade	Soak the Rich
Thunder in the Night	Woman Trap
My Marriage	The Preview Murder Case
Murder Man	Give Us This Night
Woman Wanted	F Man
Last of the Pagans	Muss 'Em Up
Garden Murder Case	Sweet Surrender

As a matter of fact, the complete list of those classified as "poor" from the standpoint of their financial showing numbers 65. The rest of the year's crop made records from "fair" to "good."

Here then is convincing proof that when the public has been offered worth-while pictures in any considerable numbers it has patronized them, with only such exceptions as one might expect in the vicissitudes of marketing and promotion. The record also disproves conclusively the producers' claim that socially constructive pictures need the help of block booking to require the exhibitors to take them. Any exhibitor who might have voluntarily selected only the trash in last year's production would have gone bankrupt.

In the light of these records let us consider what is coming in the movies. Nearly 750 pictures are announced for the 1936-37 production season. The most promising seem to be the following: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in a total of 50 pictures expects to include: "Camille," "Captains Courageous," "Good-Bye, Mr. Chips!" "The Good Earth," "Kim," "Marie Antoinette," "Maytime," "Parnell," "Pride and Prejudice," "Prisoner of Zenda," "The Wind and the Rain," "Silas Marner," "As Thousands Cheer," "Lost Horizons," "Pitcairn's Island," "The Transgressor," "The Distaff Side," "Tish" and "Two Thieves." RKO among 45 will give us "Gunga Din," "Quality Street" and "Winterset." Paramount announces 65, but their titles give no hint as to their quality. Warner Brothers will make 30 pictures including: "The Adventures of Robin Hood," "The Charge of the Light Brigade," "The Fortune Hunter," "The Green Light," "The Prince and the Pauper" and "Schoolhouse in the Foothills." United Artists will give us: "I, Claudius," "Rembrandt" and "Come and Get It" (Edna Ferber's story). Universal has scheduled 40 pictures, of which two, "Roxana" and "Time Out of Mind," raise hopes.

Thus we shall have approximately 30 pictures made from well known novels and stage plays of proved quality. We may probably add 20 more from original stories written directly for the screen. This gives us approximately 50 pictures to anticipate with confidence. These 50 pictures will make a positive contribution to the cultural life of America. That is a cause of rejoicing for the public and of congratulation for the producers.

But what about the remaining 700? And why a total of 750 this year against 500 last year? The additional 250 will consist of the cheap pictures known to the trade as "quickies" or C grade. The major studios of the motion picture trust will create them primarily for the double feature bills and to compete with the independent producers. They may contain no overt violation of the producers' code administered by the Breen office, but they will contribute nothing but trash to the minds of the millions of theatergoers who have to sit through them on double feature bills. They will follow the traditional patterns of Westerns, underworld and sentimental poppycock. They will be of a quality so low that the various previewing groups and the motion picture critics will not even consider them. The rest of the year's product, that is, the 450 pictures between the 50 best and the 250 "quickies," will consist of the ordinary run-of-the-mine films usually rated somewhere below "good" and above "poor" in quality.

So, if the pictures delivered correspond to the announcements for the coming season, we may expect a little less than 7 per cent of the year's output to be in the "very good" and "excellent" brackets, 40 per cent at most in the "fair" to "good" brackets, and the remaining 53 per cent just trash. This from the standpoint of quality. The significant fact is that this represents a *decrease in the proportion of good pictures* to the total output. Yet, as the box office figures clearly show, it was the high quality pictures that made the most money for the producers last year. No other interpretation is possible. Their plan to produce 250 "quickies" this year is against their own interest financially and against the public interest in every way.

Thus the fourth great character-forming agency in modern life continues to present a problem for the other three—the home, the school and the church. That the movies have made substantial progress during the past two years is patent to every observer, but the problem is by no means solved. The record here cited and the prospects viewed point to the continuing need of public education to develop discrimination and to acquaint the people with the social issues involved.

Insults Between Friends

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: There is a kind of insult which deserves a place by itself. It is part of the stock-in-trade of friends. Friends are accustomed to use words to each other which in other days have caused duels or led to actions in the courts of law; but you do not turn a hair when a friend accuses you of follies and even crimes, or when

he calls you by titles which would be resented by the most hardened criminals. All this is part of the material for lively conversation between friends.

Words, in fact, are the most variable things; they take their meaning from the speakers and their relations one to another. They change in meaning with the look on the face of the speaker. There is a kind of artificial insult which is part of a game. The friend, so attacked, answers back in the same style. It is almost a way of showing affection for each other. American public life, I am persuaded, was a little better than it is today when, to Governor Smith, Mr. Roosevelt was still an "old potato."

It is an ancient custom for members of rival institutions to insult one another, but no one minds; the Harvard man does not greatly resent the insult directed against his university by some Yale friend. The Scot from Aberdeen is rather glad when the Edinburgh man tells one of the many stories which are thought to illustrate the character of the dwellers in that lovely grey city. The story may represent him as devoted to the sacred cause of economy to such an extent that if he took the insult seriously he would find himself condemned as a tightwad. But he laughs and invents a counter-insult wherewith to belabor his Edinburgh friend. It is the Scots who invent all the jokes against their countrymen, and for their own ends they have made the legend that they are without a sense of humor.

Do you know the story that is told in Cambridge, England? Cambridge and Oxford men have long kept up a tradition of indifference to each other. Here is the story of the Man who had Twin Sons. The twins were indistinguishable in nursery, in their early school, in their public school. In despair their father sent them to different universities, one to Oxford, the other to Cambridge. Three years passed; they graduated and returned home. One was the finest flower of Oxford culture, the other just an ordinary Cambridge man—*and they were still indistinguishable!*

Such a story would be approved by the Oxford man as a palpable hit, but would he be angry? Not at all; he would simply try to answer in kind. It is all a game, and a very pleasant game. It keeps conversation from becoming flat. It prevents us from becoming too exalted and serious. It is of course a test of real friendship.

There is a delightful old madrigal which has these lines:

> The falling out of faithful friends
> Renewing, is of love.

It is surely the test of faithful friends that they can use all the language of invective and insult one to another and not care in the least. It becomes almost a kind of inverted expression of their affection one for another. If a man comes into your office and calls you an old blackguard, numskull, scoundrel, he might conceivably be an indignant reader who wants to give you a piece of his own mind, or he may be an old friend, myself for example.

Ever yours studying the ways of men,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

Twilight

GOOD was the day beneath the hasting sun,
The straining thew, the guerdon hardly won,
The duty done.
But good the hour, with jest and kindness rife,
To count the wage, and bless the Lord of Life,
At ease from strife.
And good it is when falls the close of day,
To watch the sharp black shadows melt away
In evening grey.
Gleams from Beyond through the soft gloaming creep
. . . Star splendors pulsing in th' eternal deep
. . . Then cometh sleep!

FRANCES JULIETTE HOSFORD.

A Poet's Plea

SHALL we close hard, blind eyes to beauty here,
Because we know that children work and die?
Must we to music turn a deafened ear,
While on the battlefields the wounded lie?
If we should sing of hate, of lust, of greed,
And all that make the sum of human ills,
Think you our note would cause a world to heed?
Men never were convinced against their wills.
We know that tears are near while we rhyme laughter;
But loveliness still lives in earth and sky.
So, let us glimpse afar the long, long after,
In some beyond, some holy by and by,
Where faith, contentment, love, shall bring their peace,
And man be born God's glory to increase.

IDA NORTON MUNSON.

Truth and Beauty

SOME contend that truth will banish beauty,
That microscopes can show us nothing fair,
That pondering lovely things is not a duty,
That Science rules the earth and sea and air,
That research must devour its dish of facts
Unseasoned by imagination's savor,
That he who stains the temple's window lacks
The consecration which all true saints favor.

It may be truth is never found by dreaming,
And pure religion must remain austere;
But why are woodlands still with songbirds teeming?
Why do the lilies bloom and never fear?
If loveliness and truth cannot agree,
Why listen to those tales of Galilee?

RICHARD SANDERS.

The Third Year of Repeal

By John Haynes Holmes

THE third year of repeal is drawing to a close. The record of this year, as told from day to day in the newspapers, is worse than ever. And this in spite of the fact that this record is not a half, nor even a quarter, told! The wet press, fattening on its liquor advertising, is publishing only what it has to publish about the ravages of alcohol. There is now no flamboyant exposure of rampant evils, no front-page featuring of drunkenness and crime and death, no editorial howling to high heaven over "appalling conditions." Yet if the liquor news were handled today the way the liquor news was handled yesterday, this nation would get a shock that would carry us back to prohibition in a year. The newspapers, aided and abetted by an acquiescent government, went out to "get" the eighteenth amendment—and they succeeded. Now they are keeping as quiet as possible about the evils of a traffic highly profitable to their exchequers. But the news breaks through in spite of everything!

Here on my desk are clippings about liquor which I have gathered during 1936 in the casual reading of local newspapers in New York and occasionally of newspapers in other parts of the country. This year, as last year and the year before,* I made no attempt to complete the record; I employed no clipping bureau, and sought no assistance from friends who would see newspapers I could not see. I simply caught up such news as chanced to come my way. Also, I carefully winnowed out all items or reports presented by such "dry" sources of information as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League. I wanted nothing in my material which might carry the slightest suspicion of propaganda.

It is interesting to note that my clippings are more abundant this year than they were in 1935 and 1934, when I gathered similar clippings in the same way. If I should attempt to report them in this article as I reported them in my two previous articles, in a month by month listing of events, I should need far more space than it would be proper, or even possible, for the editor to give. Also, the use of this chronological method another year would be repetitious and therefore monotonous. So this year I am going to sample my product. I propose to dip into the mass of material, and deliberately choose those news stories which seem to me to be most significant as showing what can happen, must happen, is happening, when the liquor traffic is sanctioned by the government and thus officially released upon the community. These are horrors which follow upon the public policy not of fighting but of fostering the use of alcoholic beverages. They are frankly the peaks of peril, but around them cluster the spreading foothills represented by the ordinary tragic doings of the day as set forth in item after item in my collection. Together these peaks and foothills of the news of booze make a mountain range of disaster which looms dark and terrible upon our day.

*See Mr. Holmes's Christian Century articles: "The First Year of Repeal" (November 7, 1934) and "The Second Year of Repeal" (December 4, 1935).

II

The most impressive clippings of this current year have to do with the startling increase in drinking, both moderate and excessive, occasional and regular. It used to be argued by the wets that repeal would lower the tide of consumption—that people were drinking heavily under prohibition as an act of bravado, to defy an unjust law. Make it easy and proper to imbibe and the incentive will be gone, and drinking, therefore, reduced to a minimum! This idea never made sense to me. It never was so in the old days before prohibition. Why should it be so in these new days of high-power advertising, organized publicity and general mob psychology? Now we know it isn't so! Drinking is increasing to such an extent as to break all the records of the trade.

Thus, public records show that tax-paid withdrawals of distilled spirits, including alcohol for consumption, rose from 6,000,000 gallons in 1933, the last year of national prohibition, to nearly 42,500,000 gallons in 1934, and nearly 82,500,000 gallons in 1935. Tax-paid withdrawals of fermented malt beverages for consumption rose from 6,500,000 barrels in 1933 to a little more than 32,000,000 barrels in 1934, and nearly 42,000,000 barrels in 1935. The question of bootlegged liquor does not enter into this computation, since bootlegging is just as much of a factor under repeal as it was under prohibition.

The Northwestern National Life Insurance Company published a report on drinking some months ago, from which the following sentences are verbatim quotations:

> Moderate and occasional drinkers show a steady increase of 21 per cent since a year ago in the number of insurance applicants reported to be moderate or occasional users of alcoholic beverages, and of 110 per cent since 1932.
>
> In the age group from thirty to forty-five, at the present time, 44.9 out of each 100 accepted applications are moderate or occasional users. This compares with 36.9 per 100 applicants in the same group this time a year ago, and 22.2 per 100 in the spring of 1932.
>
> In the analysis of rejections, only cases of heavy indulgence were considered. For the year ending April 1, 1932, and for all ages, such cases averaged 17.6 per 100 rejections; in the corresponding period ending April 1, 1935, the figure had risen to 22 per 100, and for the year ending April 1, 1936, to 23.8 per 100.

The secretary-treasurer of the Keeley Institute at Dwight, Illinois, announced in the early part of this current year that "drinking among women has increased materially since the repeal of the eighteenth amendment." The report described a 14 per cent increase among women patients in the first ten months of 1935. Of these patients, 77 per cent were housewives, and the remainder schoolteachers, nurses, bookkeepers, saleswomen, office workers and restaurant keepers.

On July 27 last, Dr. Karl M. Bowman of Bellevue Hospital, New York, stated that excessive drinking was increasing by "leaps and bounds." The official figures of the institution showed that in 1934, the first year after repeal, there were 7,649 admissions for acute alcoholism; in 1935, 9,139 admissions; and in the first six months of this current year, such admissions were at the rate of 12,378 annually.

In late October, in the midst of the football season, President Harold W. Dodd of Princeton created a sensation by denouncing flask-drinking at the games. "Indulgence in alcoholic beverages at football games has assumed proportions," said President Dodd, "which seriously menace the future of the sport as an intercollegiate activity. . . . Princeton University requests that all persons refrain from the use of alcoholic liquors while attending athletic contests under its auspices." This, three years after repeal, which was to end the flask nuisance as one of the characteristic evils of prohibition! The situation is worse than it ever was. Other college presidents think so, at any rate, for they wholeheartedly endorse President Dodd's drastic action.

"Drinking is a genuine menace to the game," said Dr. Clothier of Rutgers. "Drinking among spectators at football games has been a problem everywhere," said Dr. Hopkins of Dartmouth. Everywhere, apparently, except at the Naval Academy! "We don't have a liquor problem," said Rear-Admiral Sellers, superintendent, "because midshipmen do not use liquor." Article 4181 of the regulations of the United States Naval Academy reads: "Midshipmen shall not drink alcoholic liquor. Any midshipman found under the influence of alcoholic liquor, or with such liquor for drinking purposes in his possession, will be subject to dismissal from the Naval Academy and from the naval service." The academy, in other words, operates under *a prohibition law!* It has no liquor problem because it *prohibits* liquor.

Bootlegging is conspicuous in the liquor news of the year. We were told solemnly for years that bootlegging was a product of prohibition—as though the word itself did not show that liquor smuggling flourished for generations before prohibition was ever heard of. As a matter of fact, bootlegging is an incident of the liquor trade, licit or illicit, and the only way to destroy it is to destroy the trade. Here it is still flourishing three years after repeal, as note the following items, which would have been front-page news in the days of the drys:

"Vast Liquor Flood Smuggled Here from Belgian City"—the headline topping a late 1935 dispatch. From this single source alone, the dispatch declared, liquor smugglers were running cargoes into the United States "estimated to defraud the American taxpayer of $30,000,000 to $50,000,000 revenue annually."

"22 Seized as Aides in Big Bootlegging Ring"—a New York story dated March 2, 1936. This gang poured bootleg liquor over twenty-seven bars and grills in the city, and "made profits of $7,000,000 since repeal."

A few days later, March 6, came a report from the National Civic Federation that "no less than 50 per cent of distilled spirits consumed goes tax free," i.e., is bootlegged. The federation had been making "a comprehensive survey of federal liquor control," and found that "tax loss from country-wide illicit operation exceeds $360,000,000 annually." A *Herald-Tribune* headline over this story read: "Bootlegger Is Active as Ever, Survey Shows."

In September, the New York police unearthed a 1,000-gallon still in Brooklyn, valued at $50,000. This was no old affair but had been operating only some six months. Business had become so good in the bootlegging line under repeal that the gang simply couldn't keep out.

By July, the Washington authorities were getting excited over this bootleg business, as they have grown excited at intervals ever since they discovered that repeal, far from settling anything, only aggravated everything. Thus, on the 7th it was announced by the Associated Press that "the treasury department has quietly started a new drive to tighten up enforcement of liquor laws." To the present force of 4,000 men, it was said, there would be added 185 additional investigators and inspectors. Increase of personnel "will continue," said the announcement, "until the internal revenue bureau has a total enforcement staff of 4,500. . . . The investigators will have the task of running down bootleggers and manufacturers of illicit liquor."

But what's the use? "Prohibition repeal has failed to alleviate overcrowded conditions in federal penal institutions, in spite of predictions to the contrary by repeal advocates," was noted by the newspapers in commenting upon the annual report of Mr. Sanford Bates, federal prisons director, at the new year, 1936. "Liquor law commitments in the fiscal year 1935 were more than double those of 1934. The increase in liquor law violations was cited in Bates's plea for additional prison space." He evidently expects the increase to keep right on!

If anything could be worse than the bootlegging under repeal, it is the drunken driving. Just a year ago, in November, 1935, Dr. Theron Weidell Kilmer, police surgeon of Hempstead, L. I., a special student of this particular question, announced that drunken driving had increased by 45 per cent since the end of prohibition, and that "the intoxicated motorist is the greatest danger on the highway today."

Figures released by the National Safety Council in "Accident Facts, 1936 Edition," show a steady increase, since the repeal of the eighteenth amendment, in the number of automobile accidents in which liquor is directly involved. In 1933, 5 per cent of the drivers and 6 per cent of the pedestrians injured had been drinking. In 1934, the percentages were 6 per cent and 8 per cent; in 1935, 7 per cent and 9 per cent. Thus the barometer goes up. Repeal is certainly effective—in the wrong direction!

In July came a smashing story from Connecticut. Michael A. Connor, commissioner of the state motor vehicle department, reported that "accidents caused by the use of liquor had increased 102 per cent in the first five months of 1936 over the same period a year ago." The commissioner also announced that there was an

increase of 42.8 per cent "in deaths resulting from traffic mishaps involving operators who had been drinking."

III

It is not surprising that multiplying facts of this description are convincing intelligent and interested persons on both sides of the question that the fight is with us still. The wets are obviously disturbed—those of them, at least, who care a rap about the general welfare, apart from their own selfish insistence upon having all the drinks they want at any time, in any place and at any public expense. Thus Mrs. John S. Sheppard, of the New York State Liquor Authority, complained as long ago as last April that "the problem of liquor control was still unsolved." When, we may ask, has it ever been solved? Control has always been a failure, and sooner or later has always led to prohibition as an attempt to destroy what cannot be controlled. How many experiences of this sort are going to be necessary to convince us of the futility of this method?

At the very time when the wets are thus alarmed, the drys are aroused. Like another Daniel, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick has read the handwriting on the wall. "The repeal of prohibition," he declared, in a widely quoted sermon, "did not solve our problem. It simply plunged us back to the *status quo ante,* plunged us once more into the intolerable situation which our fathers faced two generations ago when they rose up in indignation against the liquor traffic. Once more we face that traffic, everywhere antisocial, not to say criminal, in its consequences.... This present loose, tipsy, cocktail-party generation, cannot be the last word in the story of alcoholism. As sure as history repeats itself, a revolt is due, a change of public attitude born out of disgust with and fear of the intolerable estate we now are in."

Already the revolt has begun. The change of public attitude is at hand. Witness, for example, the amazing article in the weekly magazine, *Today,* published by President Roosevelt's yachting friend, Vincent Astor, and edited by his intimate counselor, Professor Raymond Moley. The latter's disappointment over the results of repeal have long been notorious. Did not the President bestow as his most blessed initial gift to the country the return of booze, and here is a situation worse than anything that ever flourished under prohibition! So Moley gives three pages of his magazine to Gretta Palmer for an elaborate illustrated article, entitled "Dry, Dry Again." In this article, Miss Palmer describes the return of the drys. They are "on the warpath again," she writes. It took them "three years to recover from the crushing blow which repeal dealt to their cause," but now "their former setback has been forgotten. With fresh hope in their hearts and a growing balance in the banks ... [they] are organizing on a really impressive scale." The Anti-Saloon League, which now has superintendents in all states, is planning to spend this year, with other groups, over $1,000,000. "Church collections for the cause have soared from 25 to 100 per cent." If the new crusade succeeds, says Miss Palmer, "America will be dry again by 1946."

And what is the reason for all this revival of "a lost cause"? Miss Palmer knows what it is, and blurts it right out: *"In 1936 a change in the public temper has appeared."* And why not? Repeal is a failure, a fraud —and the people are beginning to find it out.

The *New York Herald-Tribune,* for example, is terribly worried. Referring in a lengthy editorial to the dry convention at Niagara Falls this year, which amazed the country by its courage and confidence, the *Herald-Tribune* warns the liquor interests against present bad conditions under repeal. Reminding them that the passage of the eighteenth amendment "was due to public resentment at defiance of public opinion by the liquor trade," it asks, in plaintive and frightened tones: "Is the same callous indifference to the rights of those who do not use or approve of liquor beginning to reappear? And is the battle over prohibition, in or out of the Constitution, to be fought over again? It is not impossible."

Not impossible, indeed! At least the liquor interests do not think so. Here is Jacob Ruppert, president of the United States Brewers' Association, haranguing the 61st annual convention of the association meeting at Chicago last month (October 20): "With our own house in order, we realize that once again our industry is being attacked by a group which finds it profitable to proceed against us with well organized, highly efficient and well financed organizations. I refer to the professional dry element. Let us not for one moment deceive ourselves. The army of drys is a mercenary army; there is money in prohibition." (But none, of course, in the brewery business!)

It is not the "professional dry element," however, that is really alarming the booze barons. Rather is it the voters, already enlisting for the campaign against the wets and striking their blows for victory. The low-water mark of the prohibition ebb was the repeal of its state prohibition law by Kentucky in November 1935, by an adverse majority of 100,000 votes. It was at that moment that the tide turned, and has since been slowly but none the less surely coming in. Thus, in these same November elections, the drys throughout the nation won 95 local contests, lost 23, and voted both beer and hard liquor out of 56 township units. In West Virginia, they voted 8 counties dry; and in Arkansas, 14 counties out of 17.*

In a report of the United States Brewers' Association published in July, and commented upon by the *Christian Science Monitor,* "alarm at recent increases in dry sentiment in various sections of the United States was voiced." C. D. Williams, secretary of the association, announced that "as a result of local option elections, drys gained an increase of 149 per cent in the

*Incomplete reports from the election of November 3, 1936, include results as follows: In Chicago, 43 out of 88 precincts voting banned the sale of liquor. Prior to this, in 1935-36, 111 Chicago precincts had voted dry. Outside Cook county, 38 townships and 107 villages in 60 counties have voted dry. Oklahoma, by what the press calls an "overwhelming vote," refused to repeal state prohibition. In the same election, however, a measure providing for township option in California was "hopelessly beaten" in California, and state prohibition was repealed in North Dakota. —The Editors.

number of towns, and 94 per cent in the number of counties over their status in 1934." Warning that "local option is the first step in a scheme to have nation-wide prohibition in 1945," Mr. Williams recorded that the number of dry towns in New York alone had been increased from 2 to 36; in New Jersey from 1 to 22, and in Connecticut from 5 to 12.

In a score of special county local option elections in Kentucky last September, less than a year after the repeal of the state prohibition law, dry victories were won in every instance but one. Twenty other counties in this state have either set election dates or are now circulating petitions with that end in view, and "in each case," says a special story in the *New York Times,* "it is practically a foregone conclusion that liquor will lose."

At the September elections in Maine, in a triple-headed referendum on the sale of liquor in cities, towns and villages, the drys won victories that carry the state far forward in the direction of its former eminence as a pioneer prohibition state. On referendum No. 1, on the question of the sale of liquor in government operated stores, 248 towns voted Yes, and 264 voted No, tie vote 3. On referendum No. 2, on the question of the granting of licenses for the sale of wine and spirits, a saloon measure, 190 towns voted Yes, and 321 voted No, tie vote 4. On referendum No. 3, on the question of the granting of licenses for the sale of malt liquor, 244 towns voted Yes, 268 voted No, tie vote 3.

What wonder that the liquor interests are alarmed, and the dry forces elated! The campaign for the return of prohibition is now well under way.

IV

Such is my third report on repeal since the enactment of the 21st amendment in December, 1932. It is also my last report. For it will profit nothing to go on, year after year, repeating a story which is now as familiar as it is disgusting and alarming. We have given repeal three years to prove itself, and it has failed, just as every sane and instructed mind knew it would fail. The moment the eighteenth amendment was repudiated, the floodgates were opened for the return of the same intolerable conditions of civic corruption, social debauchery, moral collapse and general public peril which led to the enactment of the amendment in the beginning. What idiocy to think that the licensed liquor traffic, uncontrolled and uncontrollable, would do anything other than what it has always done—namely, overwhelm society with indecency, misery and crime. Now the record is written once again. The facts are in. There waits only that action upon the facts which will drive liquor from point to point till the land once more is free.

Not the failure of repeal but the fight to get rid of it has now become the important issue. That fight is well started, and will be pressed with ever increasing effectiveness. Would that all our social problems these days were as certain of drastic and prompt solution!

Living in a Time of Crisis

By Ernest Hatch Wilkins

THE WORLD in which I grew up was a reliable world. We knew what to expect of it. We believed in the uniformity of physical nature, of human nature and of social nature. Sunday church bells rang an imperative summons. Education consisted in going regimentally to an eight-year grammar school, a four-year high school and a four-year college. Science, for all its infancy, claimed absoluteness—so much so that if we wanted to make a thing seem absolute we called it science. The economic order was stable: men wanted work and had work; hard working conditions were endured with a hard fatalism; a millionaire was an interesting rarity. The political order was stable: politics did not interfere with business; our "two-party system" was in reality a one-party system, with occasional interludes. Europe and Asia were merely maps in the back of the atlas.

To be sure we had our crises with all their burden of bewilderment and suffering, but they were brief. They were passing storms; accidents, we thought, not omens.

It was indeed an "age of confidence," as Canby calls it—an age of comfortable self-satisfaction, of easy dogmatism. But our world was, in many ways, a good world. We were at peace, save for the sorry months of the Spanish war. We were learning beauty—the beauty of our own rivers and mountains; the beauty that may be wrought by the hand and the mind of man. It was an eager world; discovery and invention were astir. It was a kindly world; there was more shaking of hands than of fists. It was idealistic in the more immediate relationships of life. It was a happy world.

We lived as in a great social breathing spell. Yet disrupting forces had long since been at work, and the crash came at last in 1914.

The world we share today is neither reliable nor uniform. Even the physical world has gone relative. The voice of religious challenge is clearer than ever, but the voice of religious authority is lost in the tumult. Education is awake, but is floundering in a welter of changing objectives, changing contents, changing forms. The economic order and the political order have merged, and have become disorder. Our country is shot through with more conflicting forms of selfishness than we have ever known before. We have achieved mass unemployment. Labor has passed from acquiescence to demand. Inequalities in income have reached extremes so obviously untenable that those who are financially the most fortunate should be the first to urge correction. Democracy — our greatest common

ideal, our greatest common effort—through failure to make good its high potentialities invites invasion from the black right and the red left. As men build desperate dikes against a rising flood, so against rising war we are building desperate assertions of neutrality. We have passed from a social breathing spell into a cosmic gasp.

Chronic Crisis

Crisis in the world as I first knew it was occasional and brief; crisis has become chronic and, for us, permanent. Society may at last win through into the peace of an order better than any the world has yet known, but it is not likely that any man or woman or child who is now in life will live long enough to enter into that peace.

Who is to blame for the loss of our old stability, for the coming of crisis? Speakers to youth too often say: "Our generation has made a mess of the world; it is for your generation to fix it up." That statement is wrong in both its halves and in its false antithesis. The responsibility does lie in part with "our generation," but it lies chiefly with generations now vanished. The forces which brought about this crisis were at work long before the oldest one of us was born. Nor can the "younger generation" alone be expected to end the crisis. Its component passions and perplexities are too powerful, too intricate, for that. Responsibility for the long solution lies upon us all alike, and will lie upon our children and our children's children. The truth is that all of us, older and younger, are caught in crisis together, and that we need mutually all the help we mutually can give.

Design for Living

In this conviction I offer seven elements of a design for living in crisis, as we must live. Live we must, and live we will; and our lives, under any conditions, will seek the utmost fullness we can win for them. What equipments, then, and what techniques will help us most to meet and master the limitations and the frustrations of the continuing crisis?

In the first place, we need courage. It didn't take much courage to live in the world I grew up in; it will take plenty of courage to live in the next fifty years. Courage that can face superior force without flinching and with zest; courage that can "take it" and come back; courage that is not injured by injury nor defeated by defeat. That kind of courage doesn't come by whistling when one needs it; it comes by resolution fixed and reinforced, and by a steady discipline which must grow from within.

In the second place, there is a surprisingly deep satisfaction to be had from doing one's own job as well as one possibly can—even if it isn't much of a job, even if it does not give one the chance to work with one's full strength. *"In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister."* Certain limitations have to be accepted as one accepts the rules of any game. It helps, indeed, to turn the job into a game, and play it as nearly to a clean perfection as one can. I hold this to be true even when, in crisis, one's job is the job of finding a job; even when, in crisis, external authority changes the rules of the game when one is in the midst of the play.

In the third place, whatever one's philosophy of life may be, there should be written into it, and written large, the idea that change is one of the basic laws of life. So is conservatism. Each has its place. Mere change, unchecked and unchallenged, is worse than useless. Mere conservatism means stagnation. Progress results from the interplay of change and conservatism. But progress *will* result. And in proportion as men realize the ultimate inevitability of change, they will seek to guide and regulate its orderly coming instead of fighting it off till it bursts with destructive violence. Crisis will bring particular changes, in all probability, which will disappoint *you,* thwart *you,* injure *you.* But your unhappiness will be less if you can realize that the particular changes which so injure you are part of a process large and long and inevitable which, for all its blindness and ruthlessness, holds the possibility of a better life for all mankind.

Making Crisis Tolerable

In the fourth place, crisis is more tolerable if we understand it. Human nature is built for fulfillment, not frustration; for victory, not defeat. If, then, the forces about us threaten us with frustration and defeat, our very dignity as human beings, as something more than tumbleweed, demands that we try to understand the nature and the action of those forces. No easy task, for the gravity of the crisis lies largely in its extreme intricacy. Yet the effort to understand some phases, at least, of the world's perplexity—some particular economic problems, some particular political struggles, some particular social dangers—may become a satisfying activity in itself, an alleviation of the weight of crisis. This is true even if we do nothing more than understand.

But, in the fifth place, we should do something more. Every intelligent life in the coming decades should be active, not passive, with reference to the solution of crisis. Activity toward such solution will be for us imperative if we seek the fullest life which may for us be possible. To leave such activity out of our lives would be like leaving sight or hearing out of bodily life, like leaving friendship out of the life of the spirit. And whatever the form of the activity we undertake, the essence of it, for educated men and women, should be thinking—relentless, sustained thinking. Such thinking is the hardest of all human efforts. But to perform a difficult feat is better than to perform an easy one. To win a hard game is better than to win an easy one. To succeed in hard thinking is better than to succeed in easy thinking. To help, through hard thinking, toward the solution of crisis may be for some of us the highest of life's satisfactions; may make living in crisis a richer and a fuller thing than any other kind of living could have been.

In the sixth place, if we are caught in crisis, we are at least caught together. Peril and adversity bring men together; in ease and in prosperity men drift apart. In this, at least, the uses of adversity are sweet. For of all human follies the most foolish is the idea that men can

live life worth the name if they live unto themselves. And if it takes peril and adversity to drive that folly out of our heads, to reveal us to one another, then crisis is worth while. Men band together for emergency, but the bond slackens when emergency is past. Perhaps the very magnitude of the crisis in which our lot is cast may draw mankind together into a stronger human loyalty than has yet been achieved.

Finally, even if crisis hits us hard, there is strength in the knowledge that the greatest values of life are greater than crisis. Economic and political and social systems exist not for their own sakes, but to make possible life of such excellence as could not otherwise be attained. A disproportionate share of our lives will be spent in dealing with crisis, but we shall deal with it the better if we turn consciously for strength and resource, even for joy, to the abiding values of life itself.

What are those values? For Plato they were three: the true, the good and the beautiful. And for Paul they were three: "Now abideth faith, hope, love." Of the Platonic triad it is not said that any one is the greatest Of the Pauline triad it is said that "the greatest of these is love."

Fascist Week-end in Montreal

By J. King Gordon

OVER a recent week-end Montreal had its foretaste of fascism. The sequence of events awakened memories for some who had experienced the days just before Mussolini in Italy or the days just before Hitler in Germany. Public authorities capitulated weakly before the threats of mob violence, free assemblies were suppressed, hooligans paraded the streets, peaceful citizens were assaulted, racial animosity and nationalistic ardor reached a fever height. The week-end culminated with mass demonstrations of a religious character that were directed specifically against "communism."

While the full significance of such events can be understood only in the light of political, social and religious developments in the province of Quebec over a period of years, nevertheless the events themselves, in a remarkable way, throw light upon a social situation fraught with the utmost danger. A group of representative citizens of Montreal had planned a meeting to hear the story of three delegates from the Spanish loyalist government. The meeting was scheduled to take place on Friday evening in a large midtown hall. On Friday morning English and French newspapers carried a letter from the archbishop coadjutor of Montreal warning local Catholics against Father Luis y Sarasola, one of the loyalist delegates.

Church and Press Hand in Hand

The archbishop's letter suggested that the Spanish priest was not in possession of proper credentials and "appears, from what the newspapers report, to take an attitude contrary to the solemn declarations made by his holiness, the pope, some days ago, as well as those of the bishops of Spain, concerning the sad events that are now taking place in that country." The same newspapers voiced the fear that riots, instigated by local fascisti, French university students and members of French patriotic organizations would disrupt the meeting. It was further reported that the chairman of the executive committee of the city had given the chief of police full powers to maintain order in any way he saw fit and carte blanche to ban the meeting before or after it had started if, in his opinion, the public safety was endangered. By noon the order was issued from the City Hall that the scheduled meeting had been banned. The hand of the chief civic authority had been forced by a group of students from the French University of Montreal.

McGill for Free Speech

Meanwhile the Spanish visitors had arrived. A luncheon was held in their honor, which was attended by about thirty persons. Father Sarasola confined himself to reading a brief statement which denied any implied charges of apostasy and affirmed his loyalty to the Catholic church and to his superiors. His sole intention, he declared, was to stand beside his colleague in presenting the case for the legally constituted and democratic government of Spain. Short addresses by Señora Isabella Palencia and Señor Marcelino Domingo set forth in an objective and singularly unemotional manner the events leading up to the military fascist outbreak and the march on Madrid. At the close of the addresses the chairman announced that the meeting for the evening had been banned. In a carefully worded release to the press, the committee in charge of arrangements declared that they considered that "Canadian democracy is in a precarious condition if a sane and considered statement for a lawful government is prevented from being given in a British country by threats of violence from irresponsible elements."

In the afternoon a meeting for students had been arranged under the auspices of the Social Problems Club of McGill University. Having received threats that the meeting would be broken up, elaborate precautions were taken to insure its safe conduct. Every individual who entered the McGill Union had to give a satisfactory account of himself to the smiling but husky young men in red and white sweaters who stood guard at the entrance. The meeting was well attended by a representative group of students and faculty. There was no disturbance and the response to the presentations was an enthusiastic one.

Commenting on the holding of the student meeting

Dr. Morgan, principal of McGill University, stated to a graduates' dinner on the following evening: "When this question of freedom of hearing has arisen in this city, the students of McGill have insisted on hearing what they wanted to hear. What they heard might be wrong, might be right. I am not concerned. But they said: 'There shall be no dictation to us; we shall hear and we shall judge.' As long as I am principal of McGill University, I shall help them to the utmost of my ability to maintain that right to the search for truth. I speak with very genuine feeling because I believe we have before us today a very real issue, the results of which may not be foreseen, but I am proud, and I believe you are proud, of the students of McGill."

Street Mobs

With the public meeting banned in Montreal, the committee in charge of arrangements endeavored to secure a hall in the adjacent municipality of Westmount, a residential district within the boundaries of Montreal, which is largely English-speaking. The promise of a hall for the meeting was secured and notice given out of the change of place. Later the management denied the right of meeting and at the last moment the committee secured a small salon in one of the leading hotels for a meeting of a semi-private character. Throughout the evening the streets were the scene of mob excitement with occasional acts of violence. A large crowd of youngsters demonstrated in front of the Arena, where the original meeting had been scheduled to take place. Sent about their business by a large squad of Montreal police, they paraded through the main streets of the city to the marching chant of *"A bas, a bas, a bas les Communistes!"* They invaded Westmount, following the rumor that the meeting was to be held in Victoria Hall. There they were turned back by Westmount police. Much to the astonishment of the crowd one of the constables told them in faultless French to get out and—*"plus vite que ça!"*

In the meantime the meeting in the Mount Royal Hotel had started. About one hundred and fifty people were in attendace. It was largely a professional and business audience with a few university professors. Señora Palencia had been speaking only a few minutes when word was brought from the hotel management that fear of invasion by the mob in the streets made it necessary for them to order that the meeting be brought to a close. To emphasize the finality of this order the lights were turned out and, upon the request of the chairman, an indignant audience disbanded quietly. A university professor leaving the building and acting as escort to the Spanish delegates was attacked by a group of young hooligans and severely maltreated. An effective demonstration that in matters of this kind he was not a pacifist saved him from further damage and sent his assailants scampering.

Sporadic demonstrations continued throughout the weekend. A local newspaper which had taken a positive stand against mob law and in favor of free assembly received special attention, a crowd of demonstrators outside its offices howling their disapproval. A bookshop which handles socialist and communist literature and which, a few weeks ago, had been smashed up by a similar mob, received a warning to close up or expect dynamite. A leading member of the local Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (Socialist) party had a paving block thrown through the glass of his front door with the note attached, "Shut up your communist preaching or else. . . ." The sender had used a rudely drawn skull and crossbones in lieu of signature. The McGill Union, liberal student center, had windows broken by stones.

Christ the King!

Sunday was the occasion of the Catholic celebration of the Feast of Christ the King. In Montreal, one hundred thousand French Canadian Catholics assembled in the Craig Street armories and the adjoining Champ de Mars. Numerous speakers were heard including Msg. Georges Gauthier, archbishop coadjutor of Montreal, and M. Leo S. McKenna, acting mayor of the city. The common theme for all speakers was a denunciation of communism and a call to all the faithful to join in a crusade for its extermination. Canadian support of Spanish loyalists—"those new barbarians who have covered the soil of unhappy Spain with ruin and blood"—was denounced. Gratitude was expressed that the civil authorities in Quebec and Montreal had proclaimed their intention of eradicating all subversive propaganda and organization.

Among English-speaking Catholics in Montreal a similar demonstration was held in Loyola College at which Rev. William X. Bryan, S.J., urged greater aggressiveness on the part of English Catholics against communism and against all efforts to create sympathy for the Spanish government. The report of his speech carried this direct quotation: "Our French-speaking Catholics are better informed. More power to them in their effort to tramp down this thing which is worming its way into our country." Father Bryan's stand on the Spanish situation was made even more clear by a letter to the press in which, "in the interests of truth," he presented certain "facts" about Spain, based upon investigations carried out by the Anti-Marxist Institute and the International Entente against the Third International!

Does Catholicism Menace Free Speech?

In the city of Quebec, Cardinal Villeneuve and M. Duplessis, prime minister of the province, addressed an assembly of twenty thousand. After insisting that there could be no compromise "between us and communism —Russian or any other sort," the prime minister made the significant statement: "The grand theories of liberty, of equality, of fraternity are of no account [*ne valent rien*]. Those which do count are the three theological virtues: faith, which illumines the intelligence, charity, which enriches the heart, hope, which brings comfort." This report appeared in the leading French paper of the province.

The total effect of the weekend's demonstrations in their many and diverse forms has been to awaken a profound uneasiness in the minds of Canadians who are concerned about the rights of free opinion, free speech

and free assembly. It is generally recognized that the basic issue does not concern one's attitude toward communism, or Spanish democracy, or religion, or race relations. It is the question whether or not the basis of British democracy is going to survive in the province of Quebec.

I have mentioned the forthright stand of Principal Morgan of McGill. Under a seven column headline, "McGill Upholds Freedom of Speech," the *McGill Daily* in a front page editorial reviewed the situation and voiced the general sentiment of the campus. "It is a grave shame," said that editorial, "to realize that in a British city men were not permitted to voice an opinion due to the intimidation of the authorities by a mob—or by anything behind that mob. . . . This paper and the McGill Union will continue to be open to the free expression of student thought. It is only when truth is sought in an atmosphere of freedom that progress is made." A second editorial pointed out that this must not be made a racial or an interuniversity issue and insisted that "all freedom loving people of both races must work together to uphold the democratic tradition."

That the issue is by no means closed may be seen from a reported interview with the acting mayor of Montreal. After taking full responsibility for the banning of Friday night's meeting, the acting mayor continued: "You can take it from me, so long as I occupy this chair, there will be no meetings held in Montreal under communistic auspices. I hope that is quite clear."

He was then asked: "Do you think anybody who contends that the present Spanish loyalists are not communists can be classed as a communist on that account?"

"Yes, I do."

"Do you class McGill professors who were injured in Friday's troubles as communists?"

"Some of them I do. And I think they ought to know better."

So that leaves a lot of Montrealers wondering just where they stand.

BOOKS

Anglophile Thinking

CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH THEOLOGY. *By Walter M. Horton. Harper Brothers, $2.00.*

ONE OF the outstanding features of American theology today is its lack of self-confidence. For American intellectuals are nothing if not hospitable; and, being better read in European thought than transatlantic scholars are in ours, our leaders see us through the eyes of Europeans. The criticisms directed against American thought and unaccompanied by much self-criticism are received too readily, and we lose confidence in our own thinking. Just as C. G. Shaw some years ago defined culture as "the Europeanization of the mind," so theologians view a tender regard for European theology as the mark of religious sophistication. A few years ago Walter Horton was counseling us to abandon American liberalism for the "belief-ful realism" of German dialectical theology. He now urges us to keep a watchful eye on German thought, but to seek the services of the English mind to which intellectual leadership in the West is now passing.

To demonstrate what is now happening in English theology, the author gives us a valuable, even if oversimplified, sketch of the development of English religious life and thought. Here he finds the clue to interpretation in the English regard for tradition; and so the sketch, and indeed the whole book, is couched in terms of the three "persistent traditions." These are Catholicism, Protestantism and Liberalism. For the contemporary scene these are exemplified by selected individuals as typical. The liberal tradition is varied and includes Unitarianism (L. P. Jacks), Platonism (Dean Inge), scientific empiricism (F. R. Tennant) and the younger liberals (Streeter, Raven and Macmurray).

The difficulties of this sort of treatment of liberalism appear at once. To use the Platonism of Dean Inge to approach his liberalism is to distort his significance for the liberal movement. His attacks on the idea of progress would seem to be more significant; and his persistent contempt for high Anglo-catholicism puts him in the Protestant category. And surely it is hard to assimilate Macmurray to the liberal theologians!

Catholicism and Protestantism are dealt with in the same chapter, the former in terms of the *Essays Catholic and Critical,* and the latter by reference to John Oman. Where is Bishop Barnes, that sturdy antagonist of the Anglo-catholics? In view of the compendious defense of Protestantism in C. J. Cadoux's *Catholicism and Christianity,* his omission is simply astounding, while the movement among the Anglo-catholics led by Reckitt and Peck is (as Mr. Horton admits in a footnote) one of the most vital of all present English theological trends.

The "central trend" is found to be of greatest "importance for the united Christendom of the future." Its representative is Archbishop Temple of York.

What the author does not point out in this survey is that throughout English theology today one feature continually appears: a strange awe of the creeds. The discussion sails smoothly in book after book of the English writers till the creeds of the church heave in sight. Then the flag is dipped and the respect for tradition seems to batten down the hatches on intellectual mutineers who might otherwise appear on deck. This is not done in conscious insincerity; but it has the same effect on the honest reader.

This is why Americans, while seeking fellowship with English thought, need not look there for too much help. With our separation of church and state already accomplished, with our absorption of European cultural attitudes in our immigrant population and in our intellectual cosmopolitanism, with our advanced experimentation in the life of a machine civilization, with our training in interdenominational as well as intercultural adjustment—with all these peculiar American resources, why look across the Atlantic for our theology? Surely we should be leading in creative thought. Has not the Christian church always achieved its theological advances in days when it has brought varied cultural representatives into the same fellowship of faith? I am not pleading for a theological nationalism, but for that creative contribution of American theology which comes when one's own contribution is made with historical perspective, freshness, sincerity and confidence.

As an exhortation to turn to England for leadership, the

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book is unconvincing. As a review of contemporary English theology it is a suggestive and useful introduction. But it is a pity that the author did not take a longer time and do a more thorough job of assembling and interpreting the available materials.

EDWIN E. AUBREY.

The Course of American Diplomacy

A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. *By Samuel Flagg Bemis. Henry Holt & Company, $5.00.*

THIS masterly and massive volume becomes instantly the standard treatise on the diplomatic history of the United States. As American isolation has never been sufficiently complete to detach our foreign relations from our domestic politics, it follows that much light is thrown upon political history also. For example, President Wilson's diplomacy in connection with the treaty of peace and the League of Nations was intimately related to the political upheaval of 1920. Professor Bemis presents a survey, sufficiently full to meet the needs of most readers, of the foreign relations of the United States from revolutionary days, through the French alliance, the rise of the Monroe doctrine, the questions relating to Texas, Oregon and Mexico, the civil war and Hawaii; but he devotes his major emphasis and half of his 900 pages to the events of the last forty years, beginning with the policy of expansion ("the great aberration of 1898") and continuing down to the events and problems of 1936. His treatment is both factual and interpretative. He is free from partisan bias, but he does not shirk the historian's proper responsibility for making evaluations and expressing judgments.

In treating the course of American diplomacy since 1898, Professor Bemis assumes the role of critic as well as historian. It was, in his judgment, a mistake to embark upon a policy of expansion in the Pacific; and even if it had not been, still it was a mistake to raise our flag where it would certainly create tension with awakened Japan. Even more disastrous was the open-door policy in the Far East, which did us no good while it lasted and had finally to be abandoned. Theodore Roosevelt's Panama policy was bad. Wilson's handling of the league's case in the Senate was bad, but since the author holds that our non-participation in the league is advantageous to us and no great detriment to it, he does not regret what he deems the ineffective advocacy of an unfortunate proposal. But one might disagree with any or all of Professor Bemis's judgments and still be forced to admit that, for comprehensiveness, clarity and erudition, he has written the best history of American diplomacy.

W. E. G.

Books in Brief

SEVEN BOOKS OF HISTORY AGAINST THE PAGANS. *By Paulus Orosius. Translated, with introduction and notes, by Irving Woodworth Raymond. Columbia University Press, $4.50.*

For nearly a thousand years, whoever wished to read a history of the world turned inevitably to Orosius. He was a fifth century Spaniard who joined Augustine in war upon all heretics, especially Pelagians. It was at Augustine's suggestion that he wrote this work to give historical illustration and confirmation to the argument of the *City of God*. There were still pagans in the fifth century who claimed that the evil state of the contemporary world was due to the general adoption of a false faith and failure to honor the old gods. Orosius undertook to prove that the world was in a much better state since the coming of Christ, and especially since the prevalence of Christianity, than it had been before. What he wrote was therefore propaganda history without disguise. It had an immense influence in the formation of the medieval mind. King Alfred made an abridged translation of it into ninth-century English, but strangely enough the complete text has never until now been translated from its original Latin into any language. It is fitting that it should now appear as a volume (number 26) in the valuable series, "Records of Civilization." It is worth noting, in comparison and contrast with Orosius' optimistic philosophy of history, that his younger contemporary, Salvian of Marseilles, wrote a book called *On the Government of God,* in which he represented civilization as in its last twilight and announced its imminent doom by reason of its inner corruption. It is perhaps superfluous to say, in view of the auspices under which the Orosius volume appears, that Professor Raymond has edited and annotated the text with scrupulous and accurate scholarship.

MY PIONEER PAST. *By Guy Waring. Bruce Humphries, Boston, $2.75.*

Some parts of the west remained frontier longer than others. North and west of Spokane there is an area that long remained difficult of access, and therefore not much changed from the condition in which the Lord left it. To that region Waring went in the early '80's. He had a cattle ranch, ran a store, traded with the Indians, hunted big game, and upheld the dignity of the law as justice of the peace where justice was sometimes of the rough and ready variety and peace often had to be fought for. He does not go out of the way to add picturesqueness or adventure to his narrative, and does not need to. Waring was a Harvard graduate of the class of 1882. He never succeeded in getting his classmate, Theodore Roosevelt, to visit him, though they corresponded about the matter frequently, but another classmate, Owen Wister, writes an introduction to his narrative.

PRESS TIME, A BOOK OF POST CLASSICS. *Books, Inc., New York, $2.00.*

Every newspaper writer must have his melancholy moments when he sighs as he thinks of the swift mortality that engulfs even his best productions. Like hungry generations treading down the children of his brain, each succeeding issue of his paper obliterates the memory of the preceding one. It is not that he yearns for personal recognition; he is inured to anonymity. But some of the stuff, he swears, deserves to live. As for the files—who reads them, except an occasional research student pursuing an elusive fact? Who even has access to them outside of the newspaper office? No, the good stuff, along with the bad, is only embalmed, not immortalized, in the files. The *New York Evening Post* decided to see whether book covers might serve as an oxygen tent to keep the breath of life in some of the *Post's* best things of the past two and a half years. From the more than 55,000,000 words printed in the paper in that time, less than 100,000 were selected for the book. Two-tenths of one per cent ought to be good enough to keep. They are good. They don't make a book, though. They are concentrated essence of newspaper. But they prove that "journalism" is no synonym for sloppy writing.

WALKER'S COMPREHENSIVE CONCORDANCE TO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. *By J. B. R. Walker. New edition. The Macmillan Company, $3.00.*

No concordance of the King James version needs to be any more complete than this one is. It does not list every "the," "and" and "is," but it gives the correct reference for one or two important words in every clause in every verse of the Old and New Testaments. In many cases the arrangement is by phrases, rather than by single words; for example, "come again," "come down," "come forth," "come hither," etc.

Proper names are included with other words in a single alphabetical arrangement. The title page boasts that there are in Walker's concordance "fifty thousand more references than in Cruden's." That statement we pass on without verification. But a test with several verses proves that it is a quick and convenient guide.

CORRESPONDENCE

The High Cost of Dying

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Should well intentioned readers of Mr. Brown's article in your October 21 issue follow his instructions for reducing the cost of dying—in reality, the cost of an appropriate funeral—they would certainly encounter factors that failed to receive his mature consideration. If, for example, they bought stock in the Guardian Foundation they would find that it was promoted, not by civic leaders, but by A. Smith Nelson, a peripatetic promoter whose activities in many states have, as tangible results, the Oklahoma City establishment, which is indistinguishable from any other funeral home there, and the Texas Guardian, now in the courts for violating, according to the attorney general, its charter provisions.

If they organized co-operative burial societies they would find that these flourish after a fashion close to the indigent level, and that funeral directors provide as a rule better serviced funerals at the same price as the co-operatives. Until co-operatives provide funerals more in keeping with the standards of most American families they will, as in Minnesota, do no more than one per cent of the funeral directing.

It would take more space than you provided Mr. Brown to catch up with his unchecked statistical inaccuracies. The average funeral price in 1934, ascertained from 155,000 cases of all kinds throughout the country by the United States Funeral Service Industry Code Authority, was $183. Contrast this basis of 155,000 cases with Mr. Brown's citation of less than 8,000 cases averaging $363 (back in 1927), while his New Jersey figure is based on exactly 563 selected cases.

Above a reasonable minimum, funeral expenditures are voluntary. The legitimate funeral director (a small minority of exploiters cannot be denied) as often as not restrains the desires of the family. He does this not only out of natural sympathy but for two good business reasons: his hope to remain in business in his community by retaining good will and his wish to collect the bill after it is rendered.

The funeral director is an easy target, like the tax collector, but at least the attack should be based on reliable statistics and on careful weighing of the alleged remedies.

Institute of Mortuary Research, Chicago. CARL HAESSLER, Director.

Cheap Religion

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I want to say Amen to the article in your issue of October 28 on "Cheap Religion," by Howard R. Kunkle. Just so long as the church is better known in any community—as I fear it is in many—for the quality of its dinners or minstrel shows than for the depth of its spiritual life, for genuine fellowship and for prophetic vision, it is not difficult to understand the present plight of religion. The responsibility is chiefly upon the ministry, for what money-making affairs the laity cannot think up for themselves the ministers are too ready to supply.

The difficulty with the church is that its hindsight has always been so good. It cannot see its mistakes until after the damage has been done. So in finances the church has increasingly educated its people away from a proper method of support. It was caught in the vicious circle long before the depression came along and made commercial affairs seem all the more necessary for so many churches.

The church has become so set in this direction that nearly every mail brings letters promising full treasuries from concerns who see in the exploitation of religion opportunities for their own rich reward. Everything from candy bars (unfit for children to consume) to dishrags offer a quick way to financial security for the church interested in "cheap religion." I find some of my closest ministerial friends regarding me as something of a revolutionist when I suggest that the quicker the church gets out of the money making business the sooner it will command the respect and attention of the community.

Hartwell Methodist Church, Cincinnati, O. N. CLIFFORD BANGHAM.

Japanese Fascism

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: There is more than one kind of fascism. The Asiatic brand is quite different from that of Europe despite Hitler's statement that the Japanese and the Germans have the same ancestors. From 1603 until 1868 Japan was ruled by a family of military dictators not unlike our modern Caesars. They differed in that they disliked the rising business or capitalist class. With the growth of commerce the financial strength of the latter rendered the position of the military lords so precarious that violent measures were taken to reduce the power of the money barons. With the final fall of feudalism and the re-establishment of the monarchy, the co-operation of the city bourgeoisie was one of the main forces that enabled the throne to return to political power.

Temporarily defeated, the military caste was forced to take a back seat while liberalism had its day. With the return of reaction, however, the generals were prepared to make the most of their opportunities and to show their strength against the constitutional government. The Mukden blast and the Shanghai incident proclaimed to the world that there were two governments once more in Japan, the constitutional organs of which were but an "excuse department" of the army. Subsequent developments confirm this report. The present government was warned that unless the requests of the army were granted, the government would fall; the minister of war has voiced the opinion that unless the Diet passes the bills the army wishes it will be dissolved until one favorable to the army is elected; the army favors the nationalization of electrical resources. It will probably be able to overcome all governmental objection; the tax minister has been told that it is the business of the army to execute policies, that of the government to raise the money.

The army is not united, however. For a time, military policies were in harmony with the capitalists' ideas. It seemed for a while that the exploitation of north China would be profitable for the bankers. With mounting military expenses, financed in part by red-letter bonds purchased by the banks, the failure of returns from capital invested in Manchukuo, the likelihood that the new state will develop into an industrial competitor, capitalists have begun to lose faith in the army's administrative wisdom. Likewise, within the army, a faction has arisen which looks askance at the continued strengthening of capitalism. The backbone of the army is recruited from the rural areas. These young men, were they at home, would be the wage earners for the family. Having been reared amidst unbelievable poverty, they are amazed when they come in contact with the luxury of the cities. They have come to feel that some sort of socialism must prevail if the rural class is to survive. Continued worries about conditions back on the farm make them more susceptible to radical ideas. The February 26 incident can be explained in part on the basis of this psychology. While there is a ban on almost any literature dealing with current issues, these two divisions within the army continue to antagonize each other by issuing pamphlets urging the people on the one hand to favor a capitalistic capitalism, while the other group preaches a form of socialism (although the term is not used).

Police activities among civilians, as well as the quick quelling of the winter mutiny, indicate that the "old line" fascists are in the majority. Education is being hushed. Christian schools, unless admittedly fascist, are regarded as communistic and the students are subjected to various inquisitions. November is to be a month for suppressing all dangerous thoughts among student bodies. Already the police have entered many homes and ordered the destruction of all books on economics, political problems, etc., which might tend to stimulate constructive thinking about the nation and its problems. A clerk reading a current magazine which he had purchased from the newsstand had the magazine seized by a detective and was warned that he had no business reading such materials. Most student organizations, save those with fascist names, have been disbanded.

The present crisis in Japan cannot be explained purely on an economic basis. Japan's long history in which the army was the state and the emperor only an object of religious worship; the present rift between capitalism and militarism; the army's desire for glory—all these factors take their place along with the economic forces in determining Japan's destiny.

A JAPANESE CHRISTIAN.

What Every Historian Knows

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The news item in your paper for November 11, "Catholic Editor Twits Anglican Distress," is another dirty dig by the "Christian" editor of The Christian (?) Century. Every real historian knows that the Church of England did not start with Henry VIII; that the Reformation was coming, Henry or no Henry, and that the Church of England after her "cleaning house" was no more a new home for her people than your home is new after your wife gets through throwing out an accumulation of dirt in the spring or fall. At the Reformation the Church of England did not start a new church but she did throw out the pope and a lot more superstitious "dirt."

A discerning editor might have noticed in the Roman Catholic's article that it was his own holy (?) father who gave Henry his divorce. "People in glass houses shouldn't throw stones." When The Christian Century joins the stone-throwers it is hardly improving its prestige as a Christian paper.

St. Paul's Episcopal Church, GERALD CLARKE.
East Cleveland, O.

For Further Stirrings!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Hearty approval for your editorial on "New Stirrings Within Lutheranism." How we love to use up our energies in merely defending our traditions! The gospel is power. But we certainly ought to use it for more than blowing the engine's whistle!

Some of us believe the gospel is also destined to transform society after the ideals of Jesus Christ. For that reason we do not and cannot reconcile article 16 of the Augsburg Confession with the Sermon on the Mount. To us, the will of God as revealed by the life, teachings and spirit of Jesus Christ does not sanction participation in "just" wars. (What war hasn't been "just"?)

The Lutheran church moves, but it moves slowly. Yours for further stirrings!

Pennsylvania. A LUTHERAN MINISTER.

A Friend Returns

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Several years ago I was a subscriber to The Christian Century. Then I discontinued. Reason: I did not like your attitude toward those who espoused certain views, in this case fundamentalists. I thought your attitude was too sneering. But I am willing to take a chance and read you again. I can eat the flesh and leave the bones. It is a poor sermon that does not do at least one person good. I know absolutely nothing about conducting a magazine, and if you conducted The Christian Century to please me you would be the biggest fool in the United States.

Lyons, N. Y. A. J. THOMAS.

The Question Box

Do you think Jesus really believed that his followers would see heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon him, the Son of Man (John 1:51), and that they would see the Son of Man, himself, coming from heaven in a cloud with power and glory (Luke 21:27)? A. M. F., Long Beach, Calif.

YES, if one is familiar with the oriental manner of speech and recalls Jesus' almost habitual use of figurative language in his teachings. In the first passage quoted there is evident reference to the vision of Jacob at Bethel, when he saw the ladder set up between heaven and earth and the angels of God ascending and descending upon it (Gen. 28:12). That vision was the token to Jacob of divine communication to him and his descendants, and was realized not only in personal experience, but as well in the messages of the line of prophets who spoke to Israel. Jesus took over that ancient episode as coming to a fresh meaning in his ministry, since he was the living disclosure of the life and will of God. A new era was opening in the spiritual history of the race, of which he was the revelation and they were the witnesses. The life of the Lord was proof that he was the "teacher sent from God."

In the other passage Jesus used the words of the apocalyptic book of Daniel (7:13), in which the writer describes a vision of the prophet picturing the four empires of the ancient world under figures of animals, symbols of Babylonia, Media, Persia and Greece (Alexander's empire). In the divine court, over which the Eternal presides, these animal dominions were judged and condemned, while in contrast, one in human form, a son of man, came with the clouds of heaven, and in the court he received the rule of all the nations. This figure of the "son of man" the prophet explained as referring to the sacred people, "the saints of the Most High" (verses 18 and 27), that is, the Jewish race. The book of Daniel is throughout a defense and vindication of the Jews, who were suffering persecution at the hands of the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B.C.). It is not concerned with the Roman empire, as many have supposed, nor with Jesus, neither of whom are referred to in it. The Master however was familiar with the work, and found portions of it strikingly appropriate to the new emergency that had arrived with his ministry and the approaching contest of the Jews with Rome. He applied its reference to the desecration of the temple by Antiochus to the coming destruction of the temple by Titus (Matt. 24:15), and the reference to the coming of the "son of man" to his own coming in messianic power in the establishment of his reign of peace and good will in the world. It was the bold appropriation to himself of Old Testament words which originally had quite another meaning, but had come to a new significance with his mission and ministry. Whether Jesus believed that he could actually come from heaven in that visible and impressive manner in the near future, as his language seems to imply, we do not know. Certain it is that he did not so come, and it would seem from this fact that he had in mind a more pervasive, continuous and spiritual process of self-disclosure to the world, which goes on increasingly as his life and purposes are made known to his friends and as the church reveals him in the various phases of human life, in human institutions and in individual character.

What Jesus thought about the confused and threatening situation, which confronted the Jewish state, and the manner in which his gospel would be published to mankind we only know from his highly figurative references to those "last days" of the current age. The details and the order of events connected with the political and social changes near at hand were probably unknown to him, and when asked to describe them he naturally used the apocalyptic language of the Old Testament, which was familiar alike to himself and his hearers. His interest lay not in these passing events of the time, but in the diffusion of his message and program of individual salvation and social redemption throughout the world. H. L. W.

Urge Christian-Jewish Union

Conference Stresses Need of Common Front Against Totalitarian Philosophies

(Special Correspondence from Cleveland)

CLEVELAND, Nov. 10.—An "eternal revolution" in which Christians and Jews together should uphold the values of personality against totalitarian philosophies was suggested here today as the proper method of facing a fascist and communist world. More than 200 Christian ministers and Jewish rabbis heard Dr. Ivan Lee Holt, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn, eminent Jewish author, educator and Zionist, in a symposium and open forum so interesting that it could not be adjourned for three hours.

It was the third annual fellowship symposium sponsored by the Euclid Avenue Temple and its rabbi, Dr. Barnett R. Brickner, with the co-operation of the Cleveland Church Federation and the Cleveland Ministers' Union. The guest clergymen represented virtually every communion in and near the city.

Common Enemies of Totalitarianism

Dr. Holt paid tribute to the Jewish prophets as voicing a "radiant optimism," though their people lived in a time of continuous depression and disaster. This Jewish tradition, he held, had lived through the Old Testament period and on into modern times, making a so-called "Jewish problem" which was in reality a stubbornness of faith, a willingness to uphold it and to suffer for it.

The interests of the two religions are identical in a world offering political salvation through communism or fascism, because of their common tradition and idealism, Dr. Holt said, pointing to a third alternative in devotion to the human values stressed by religion. This alternative was identified with democracy during the later question period. Dr. Holt and Dr. Lewisohn agreed in feeling greater fear of fascism than of communism in the United States.

Collectivism a "Disease"

Dr. Lewisohn declared that the reputedly new collective political philosophies in Europe were in reality not new at all, but the oldest in the world, reaching back to the ancient systems of slavery and feudalism. He characterized their return as a "disease" brought on by our emergence from a "personal era." This depersonalizing process was started by regimentation and pagan practices during the World War.

The danger, Dr. Lewisohn said, is not in the philosophies of fascism and communism, but in the plunge back into a servile and barbaric state. The means of escaping this danger lies in the "eternal revolution" which began in Israel 3,000 years ago and which must be continued by both Jews and Christians until it prevails. "When the Roman empire insisted upon conformity, *the Jewish Jews could not conform; so* they got the reputation which has persisted that they are rebellious and the enemies of all mankind," the Zionist leader said. "*Both* Jewish Jews and Christian Christians will *be persecuted, but if ministers and Jews* co-operate in a common front they will keep their tradition alive. There are certain principles of justice, mercy and righteousness that are not of yesterday, today or tomorrow. They are eternal."

Questions chiefly concerned interpretations of communism and fascism as found in Russia, Germany and Italy. The period included observations by Rabbi Brickner, Dr. A. J. Culler of Heights Christian Church and Rev. Theodore F. Braun of Bethany Evangelical Church, all of whom have recently returned from visits abroad. These men were agreed that the totalitarian states were attempting to destroy or exploit the churches and expressed admiration for the protesting Protestant pastors in Germany.

Dr. Lewisohn drew a laugh when after saying that he believed the remedy for economic ills lay not in the abolition of capitalism, but in curing its ills, he concluded, "The abuses of capitalism are like taking twelve highballs instead of one."

DON T. TULLIS.

Death of H. O. Pritchard, Disciples Educator

Harry Otis Pritchard, executive secretary of the department of higher education of the United Christian Missionary Society of the Disciples of Christ, died at his home in Indianapolis Oct. 24, following a long illness. From 1907 to 1913 Dr. Pritchard was minister of Bethany Church, Lincoln, Neb., and was then called to the presidency of Eureka College, in Illinois. In 1919 he entered the service of the United Christian Missionary Society.

Albion R. King Leads Seminar for Pastors

Dean Albion R. King, of Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Ia., was the leader of the fourth annual ministers' seminar held there Nov. 2. The topic studied was the life and theology of John Wesley.

Bishop Thirkield Dies in Brooklyn

Bishop Wilbur Patterson Thirkield of the Methodist Episcopal church died recently in Brooklyn, where he has resided since his retirement eight years ago. He was 82 years old. Bishop Thirkield will be remembered chiefly because of his interest in better relations between the Negro and white races in America and particularly in education for Negroes. He was the first president of Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, serving there from 1883 to 1900. For the next six years he was the general secretary of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Educational Society of the Methodist Episcopal church. In 1906 he became the president of Howard University in Washington, D. C., where he remained until his election as bishop in 1912. In that office, except for a short period in Mexico and South America, he served in the southern states.

Schools Demand Aid and Liberty

Minnesota Educators Want Restoral of Full State Support—Mrs. Roosevelt Discusses Peace Issues

(Correspondence from Minnesota)

VIRGINIA, MINN., Nov. 14.—The Minnesota Educational Association, in its 75th session at St. Paul last week, touched upon some vital and significant issues. The association was organized at Rochester, Minn., in 1861 with 19 members and has grown to 12,000 members. Dean M. E. Haggerty of the University of Minnesota College of Education, recalling the drabness and the ugliness of "the old box-like room, its soiled and battered door, its dripping, moldy water pail and rusty cup, its frayed maps and dusty crayon," stated that of vastly more significance was the bareness of the curriculum of the early day, the lack of library facilities, the poorly trained teachers and the irregular attendance."

* * *

Declare for Full State Aid

State aid for education having decreased for a number of years, till now only 6[illegible] per cent of the special and supplemental aid is being paid, the school executives of the state are taking a vigorous stand affirming that the full amount should be forthcoming. The need is felt most keenly in the smaller districts, where educational activities have been greatly reduced.

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Academic Freedom Demanded

J. Paul McGinnis, a teacher in the Detroit Lakes High School, warned teachers against defending those whose personal unfitness brings discredit to the profession, and stated that a discussion of social questions must be handled wisely or it would do more harm than good; but he stated vigorously that "the discussion of controversial issues is essential to any modern program of social science education." One speaker stated that teachers teach too many facts and do not stimulate enough thinking on social issues. President L. D. Coffman, of the University of Minnesota, warned against propaganda groups using the schools to further their own interests. But the association went on record defending their right and duty to delve into controversial questions and in a resolution condemned teachers' loyalty oaths as a threat to freedom of learning and teaching.

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Safe and Sane Halloween

Many communities in the state sought to change the traditional night of vandalism and prank-playing on Halloween to an orderly evening of normal play and recreation. In consequence of such activity in Minneapolis, the *Minneapolis Star* carried the following editorial the next day:

"For the first time in ten years not a

single case in municipal court Monday morning arose from Halloween destruction or deviltry. This is a surprising and gratifying circumstance. At the same time it is the logical culmination of many years of patient effort in putting over the safe and sane Halloween idea in Minneapolis. It shows what can be done in remaking communal habits. . . . They say human nature can't be changed. It has been changed in this one instance."

In our city of Virginia, the junior chamber of commerce and the P.T.A. sponsored parties for all ages of children and youth entertaining them till a rather late hour. But we too noted that there were no destructive activities on that evening. That sort of thing is not only economically and socially desirable but it is morally beneficial to youth.

* * *

First Lady in Minneapolis

Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt visited Minneapolis this week to deliver a peace address. In one of her "chatty" interviews with representatives of the press, she told something of the President's hobby for collecting things pertaining to the navy, his collection taking so much room in the White House that "there is little room to entertain guests"; gave a personal glimpse of her social responsibilities; declined to discuss Mrs. Simpson, and voiced approval of the work being done for cripples in Minneapolis.

In her address on peace at the Minneapolis auditorium on Tuesday night, Mrs. Roosevelt advocated that governments take over all munitions making in the world. She is encouraged in the possibility of peace because "we know enough so that we will not be taken in by propaganda." She stressed the individual element in the peace problem saying that everyone who knows what war is must see to it that the question is not pushed to one side. She is hopeful of better understanding in the Western hemisphere, but thinks we are not getting anywhere on the other side of the water. With reference to a world court, she said: "I am perfectly sure it is a necessity to international law to build up in nations the habit of submitting their differences to a court, not a court to sit at intervals, but a court ready at all times."

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And So Forth

The Minnesota Christian Endeavor Union, under the leadership of Edward Freeman, state superintendent of methods, is conducting a series of weekly meetings at the First Baptist Church in Minneapolis in the interest of better methods of Christian Endeavor work.

North Methodist Church of Minneapolis is conducting a youth program on Sunday evenings, combining a social hour, a chapel service and a period for the study of social and religious problems. This church is also conducting Monday night classes in money and banking, practical law, and needlecraft. There is a very encouraging response in these various lines of activity.

EDWARD W. STODGHILL.

South Dakota Church Has Anniversary

The Presbyterian church in Sturgis, S. D., has just celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. Rev. C. D. Erskine has been the pastor for thirty years.

Peace Movement Loses Crusader

Death of Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead Serious Loss to Peace Forces — Political Gains in Massachusetts

(Correspondence from New England)

BOSTON, Nov. 14.—Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead dead? For forty years, at least, her tireless voice and pen have been sounding a clarion call for peace and every noble cause. Other leaders passed, the whole political and international situation changed, but still were heard her fearless and keen exposures and denunciation of war, as if they must "go on forever." As her pastor, Dr. C. E. Park at the funeral in the First Unitarian Church, said, "No detail in the jumbled picture of our human living was foreign to her; no instance of human error or sorrow, however distant, called to her in vain. Her frail body was literally overpowered by this insistent desire to serve. Where she ever found the physical energy to spend so lavishly, would be a mystery did we not remember the wealth and fervor of her religious life, her confidence in divine omnipotence, her joy in God's service." One of her latest acts was to organize a committee in her loved Twentieth Century Club on motion pictures, aroused by the fateful effects abroad of misleading films. Though a Republican, she hoped for the re-election of President Roosevelt, that the good work of Secretary Hull, especially in his plans for the Pan-American conference, might not be undone. She did not live to know the result of the election. A rush of boys from the subway train which she was about to take caused the fatal fall. Thus to go quickly, in the midst of activity, was what she would have chosen, but for the thought of her "dear invalid," her husband for 32 years, Edwin D. Mead, her comrade in the war against war, who, at the age of 87, bravely plans still that her memory may advance the cause.

* * *

Minister Outspoken For Peace

The torch which fell from her hands is still borne aloft. On no previous Armistice Sunday, were pulpit utterances more outspoken. The climax of the annual meeting of the council of churches, in the First Baptist Church, Springfield, Mass., Nov. 9-11, was the address of Rev. W. W. Van-Kirk, secretary of the National Peace Conference. Appalling was his portrayal of the realities of the world situation, balanced by a recognition of the hopeful side in a growing peace sentiment and an appeal to return to the bold stand of the early church against war. The executive secretary, Dr. Frank Jennings, the next morning, recommended among the "three main objectives for the coming year" acceptance of this "mandate to face war and to do something about it." A second was the resolute tackling of the liquor problem by aggressive temperance education. No phase of the complex task of the two organizations merged last year was overlooked. The questions asked by the chairman, Prof. J. P. Berkeley, of four denominational experts, in the "Panel on Present Trends in Religious Education," drew answers more

Books To Own And To Give!

Charles Reynolds Brown
THE MASTER'S INFLUENCE

"A simple statement of profoundest truths concerning Jesus and His influence . . . how He worked, how He taught, how He lived. To have read this book is to be surer than ever that the influence of Jesus is potently working in the life of our day."—*The Lutheran.*

$2.00

Umphrey Lee
JOHN WESLEY AND MODERN RELIGION

"This is a book for the times. The author concludes that John Wesley is much more than a 'stained-glass saint'—he is a prophet for our time, 'warning against the separation of God and man by minimizing the place of either.'"—*The Christian Century.*

$2.50

James Reid
MAKING FRIENDS WITH LIFE

"Nobody can read these sermons without being built up spiritually. They are evidence of how much a master of the art of sermonic construction can say in a few words. A veritable treasure trove."—*Church Management.*

$2.00

Arthur Davis Martin
THE HOLINESS OF JESUS

"A detailed study of the Scriptural passages that give us the best insight into Jesus' personality, dealing especially with those points at which critics find Him lacking. The results are positive and reassuring."—*Religious Book Club.*

$2.50

Ten Authors' Symposium
RELIGION AND THE CHURCH TOMORROW

"Ten good men, knowing the church and loving it in spite of its defects, tell ways in which they think the church of tomorrow may better minister to the religious needs of people."—*Church School Magazine.*

$2.00

Henry M. Edmonds
THE WAY, THE TRUTH, AND THE LIFE

"Each sermon bristles with illustrations from the lives of men and women who have taken Jesus seriously and have therefore felt the urge to live dangerously for Him. Deep spiritual fervor permeates the author's message."—*The Messenger.*

$1.50

At All Good Bookstores

Cokesbury Press, Nashville

illuminating than any set addresses. In the social relations session, Miss Katherine Lyford of the Civic League so forcibly presented facts regarding "The Citizen, His Church and His State House," that reluctance to take political action was swept aside and a vigorous protest was sent to "Governor and Council" against a change in the department of mental diseases similar to that made last year in the department of education. In presenting the plans for co-operation with the National Preaching Mission, Welman E. Adams, secretary of the Boston Y.M.C.A., voiced the wish that such an effort might include the concerted action of Catholics and Jews.

* * *

Political Progress In Massachusetts

Like Miss Lyford, other social reformers are cheered by the results of the election, Republicans have increased their majorities in both branches of the General Court: but more significant, according to Prof. James H. Sheldon, is the fact that 61 of those legislators who voted for the teachers' oath law have failed to return. Representative Dorgan, its proponent, was snowed under by 10,000 votes in the primary. It is pointed out that the victory is more than local. "President Roosevelt has repeatedly pledged himself to academic freedom. His commissioner of education, Dr. Studebaker, has made the repeal of oath laws the first item on his program. Governor Landon devoted a whole speech to the question and put himself and his party on record for repeal. In short, everybody is in agreement, from Liberty League to New Deal, that the oath law is silly and un-American." The same progressive elements are rejoicing also in the re-election of both Nealey and Pettingill, co-authors of the federal bill to abolish block booking and regulate motion pictures. With Labor, they will seek again the ratification of the child labor amendment.

* * *

Resolute Religion In Rhode Island

Very naturally the Roman Catholic majority have tried, in the tercentenary just closing, to show that, in Rhode Island as well as in Maryland, members of their communion founded religious liberty. So be it! However, tomorrow, Baptists, in their contribution to the celebration, expect thousands, including Governor Green and his staff, to hear Dr. Bernard C. Clausen of Pittsburgh extol the founder of the state in an address on "Roger Williams in his day and ours." An educational campaign in behalf of co-operatives has been launched by the Inter-Church Commission for Social Action, composed of official delegates from Protestant and Jewish bodies, the Rhode Island Consumers' Club and the Saylesville co-operative. John Rohrbough, promoter, beginning a twelve-weeks program, said: "There is not a single industry which is not overbuilt. People need things but can't get them. In one town, 18 chain stores and 70 per cent of the homes are owned by absentees. Business associations send letters: 'Beware of co-operatives. Put pressure upon your minister to say nothing about them in the pulpit.' A lot of you church people will be called communists because of your interest in them." But the *Providence Bulletin* reported an announcement made at the tenth congress of the Co-operative League: "The Roman Catholic church regards the extension of the co-operative movement as an integral part of the Christian social order program." Here is still another proof of the consensus of all the religious bodies on social issues. And even those who would deplore intervention in Mexico will sympathize with the appeal, made in all Catholic dioceses, for contributions to establish in this country a seminary for the training of Mexican priests. Bishop Keough of Providence told his parishes the reason: "In Mexico, the church may not have such an institution. The law excludes a foreign clergy and at the same time makes it impossible for the people to have a native clergy."

* * *

A. U. A. President To Retire

Dr. Louis C. Cornish has notified the directors of the American Unitarian Association that they may eliminate him "from consideration for the presidency" at the annual meeting next May. After 15 years pastorate at Bingham, he has served the association as secretary-at-large, secretary, administrative vice-president, and, for the last ten years, as president, succeeding Dr. Samuel A. Eliot. In his "memorandum," he said: "Let me once more emphasize the world-wide character of our work. It places upon us a heavy responsibility for the continuance and extension of religious freedom, particularly now when the trend of life is toward the exploitation of men and their herd direction. Would that I could adequately present to you the spiritual importance of all our work through all these years. I rejoice that through these many years I have been permitted to be a servant to the servants of God!"

* * *

And So Forth

Boston recalls that just 50 years ago Professor Bell here demonstrated the first crude telephone, now the indispensible unifier of community and world.

News of wage increases comes from all parts of New England. Manufacturing firms are no longer leaving Massachusetts. The new machinery tax law reduces an average rate of $33 to $5 per $1000. Eighty-seven hundred firms are now in active production in the state, an increase of 400 over 1935. But the peak of 9845 in 1929 is still to be recovered.

Michael F. Costello, chief of the Rhode Island Division of Alcoholic Beverages, has sent to all the clergymen in the state a copy of his letter to liquor commissioners, asking their criticism and advice.

E. TALLMADGE ROOT.

International Exchange Of Pulpits

The annual exchange of pulpits, between this country and Canada, sponsored in the United States by the committee on relations with Canada of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, took place on Nov. 15. Four hundred ministers and churches participated. No fee was paid any minister; his expenses in travel were paid by his own church and his entertainment was provided by the church which he visited. Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Disciples, Unitarian, Episcopal, Congregational and Evangelical churches took part in the exchange.

Turkey Speeds Court Action

Criminals Summarily Dealt With Under New Law—Plans Increased Exports —Makes Valuable Alliances

(Correspondence from Turkey)

ISTANBUL, Oct. 31.—Quickening the law is likely to become one of Turkey's most efficient, though less spectacular, reforms. The start was made four weeks ago with the so-called law on flagrants délits. Under this law, offenders seized in the very act are immediately taken before the judge, and sentence is passed within a few hours. Likewise, appeal, confirmation and quashing, under the same procedure, are carried out in less than two or three days. This tribunal is in permanent operation, and to ensure its smooth working a number of magistrates have been appointed as assistants to the judge.

The effect of this procedure has been remarkable. Not only has the law been quickened, but the number of offenses has strikingly diminished. Encouraged by these results, the ministry of justice is now preparing a series of bills for expediting all matters handled by the judicial organization.

Although the law on flagrants délits has been hailed with much praise, some of its aspects have met with criticism. Thus, it cannot be denied that while the well mannered man generally ignores offensive terms frequently used by low people, the law incites the latter to drag respectable persons before the judge for the use of any word likely to be interpreted as an insult. In the course of the past four weeks, there have been at least two cases when the defendant has been a teacher and the plaintiff a pupil. Both cases were dismissed. In addition, there is a feeling that there is something antisocial in the passing of judgment before passions have subsided, and no latitude is left for conciliation in the case of offense occurring between non-criminals.

* * *

Turkey Renounces Policy Of Economic Isolation

Turkey has not been slow in drawing the conclusion from the new tendency apparent in some European countries that she should remove trade restrictions. Reversing her former autarchy policy, Turkey has voiced her will to be competitive at all cost without sheltering herself behind restrictive measures. Agriculture again will be the foundation of her economy and although this ought not to be taken as implying any renunciation of her industrialization schemes, Turkey will henceforth concentrate her efforts on those products in which she can best develop her exports.

Visiting the cotton growing districts, the Turkish Premier Ismet Inönü asked the cotton growers to tell both their troubles and their wishes. The price obtained for Turkish cotton, he said, is about 30 per cent above the world market and while this benefits Turkish economy, the situation, which is accidental, cannot last long. This is why everybody should take all necessary steps to avoid any disagreeable surprise. Turkey does not want to devaluate her currency to increase her exports,

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If I understand your plan aright, these considerations will not enter into the proposition you are preparing. Apparently your offer will be at a very low rate—I hope only one dollar. You say it will include in printed form the information that a non-reader should have about The Christian Century. On such a basis no friend of The Christian Century should have the slightest hesitation in placing such a low-cost, fully informing offer in the hands of several of his acquaintances. And since I know you have many, many thousands of readers, I see no reason why you will not receive many thousands of new subscribers.—F. D. P.

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* * *

Cement Turkish—Afghan Bond

The Afghan field marshall Mahmut Khan, whose recent stay in Turkey had more than a private character, was offered a welcome which must have impressed him with the permanency of Turkish friendship toward his country, and also with the real power, military, political and economic Turkey represents in the Near East. He was received in audience both by Atatürk and Ismet Inônü, was in permanent contact with the leaders of the Turkish army, and visited a number of factories and military institutions.

The bonds of friendship between Turkey and Afghanistan go back to the war of independence when the latter country was among the first to recognize Mustafa Kamal's government. A number of future Afghan officers are now being trained at the Turkish military school recently transferred to Ankara. Mahmud Khan's next halting places are reported to be Bagdad and Teheran.

* * *

Turkey and Iran Plan New Trade Route

Considerable interest is being focused upon the Turco-Iranian negotiations now conducted at Teheran. The Turkish delegation which is composed of leading members of various ministries is placed under the presidency of Mr. Cemal Husnu, the former permanent Turkish delegate at Geneva.

The main object of these negotiations is to lay the foundations of the much talked of Iranian transit route across Turkey. Historically Anatolia always owed the greater part of her prosperity to her constituting a natural commercial link between East and West. While Iranian trade now takes another way, the desire on both sides seems to be to revive the old Erzurum-Trabzon commercial route which not only is the shortest, but is also likely to be the cheaper export route for Iran.

* * *

Coup d' Etat in Iraq

Telegraphic news from Bagdad announces that a coup d'etat supported by both the land and air forces has compelled the legal government to resign. In fact, the resignation seems to have been handed in only after bombs were thrown on the capital by the rebel airplanes. The new government is supposed to be extremely nationalistic and is credited with the intention of rejecting co-operation with Great Britain.

There is an undeniable connection between the Iraq military coup d'etat and the Abyssinian affair, the signing of the new British-Egyptian treaty, the emancipation of Syria, events in Palestine, as well as the rumored political autonomy to be granted to Spanish Morocco.

E. GUERON.

King Promises To Seek Peace

Edward VIII, in First Speech from Throne, Outlines Pacific Policy—British Weekly 50 Years Old

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Nov. 3.—Today while my American readers are recording their votes in the presidential election, the king went for the first time to open Parliament. His speech, read in the House of Lords, contained in general language the program which the government has prepared for the new session. But before this part of the speech was reached, there came the announcement that after the coronation the king proposed to visit India, as his father did before him. In his references to international affairs there were no surprises. This nation, said the king, still looked for a new conference of the Locarno powers; it had not changed its hopes for an order in which it might be possible to reduce armaments, and it expressed once more its resolution to seek the peace of the world. In Spain it would still stand for the policy of nonintervention and at the same time would do all it could by its persuasion to humanize the conflict.

The Labor spokesman in the debate which followed the address in the commons at once attacked the government for its failure to deal with the problem of unemployment and in particular with the depressed areas. But it is evident that the government is prepared to put in the foreground a serious attention to social reform, and in particular to the physical fitness of our people.

* * *

The Jubilee of the British Weekly

It is 50 years since the first number of the *British Weekly* appeared. I was at school at the time, but I remember well the first number, which my father sent to me. It has had only three editors: Robertson Nicoll, Ross and John Hutton. It has made history in the past, and under its present editor, himself a scholar, preacher and writer of distinction, it is a paper which counts for much in the public life of this country. A salute to this journal will be given by all good churchmen, and also by all good journalists. I suppose there is no paper which goes further in its journeys. Where the Scot goes, the British Weekly follows. But though it has always made a strong appeal to the Scot, it has no limited range, and I imagine that among my readers in America, there are many who would not like to miss "The B. W."

* * *

The Arms Traffic Report

The Royal Commission on the Arms Traffic has published its report. It is unanimous, a significant fact when the variety of its membership is considered. They are agreed that there must be no nationalizing of the private armament firms. At the same time they recommend that there should be a new state departmnt to control closely the manufacture of arms under a minister responsible to Parliament. This will be

practically a ministry of munitions. Control, not ownership. They believe that such a ministry should not be created simply under war conditions—as it was in 1914-18—but in time of peace, and in peace they would make plans for emergency expansion. They say, quite confidently, that there is more resistance to the reduction of armaments when these are in the hands of a government which employs directly so much labor.

The commissioners did not consider it part of their work to conduct a legal inquiry into the charges of bribery made against the agents of certain firms. They are of the opinion, however, that such bribery as there has been has not had an important part in the fomenting of wars. They declare that they do not believe that the armament firms in this country have been active in fomenting war scares. At the same time they condemn a system which came to light in the examination of one charge, in which subordinates paid by commission offered bribes to obtain a contract. Of this they say: "A system which enables bribery to be cloaked under commissions and leaves the principals free to express ignorance of it, seems to us to be open to grave objection."

It will be seen at once that the commission did not have it as part of their task to conduct such an examination as the one made in Washington. It will not give any real satisfaction to those who wish to know the extent and nature of the underground activities of armament firms.

The report has still to be discussed.

* * *

A Final Housman Volume

A long awaited *More Poems* by A. E. Housman appeared last week. They have been selected by Laurence Housman, the poet's brother. It is a volume to be prized. But it raises afresh all the questions which lovers of *A Shropshire Lad* have asked. The poet has a limited field in which he moves. He does not seek to deal with the whole range of reality, or to interpret the ways of God to men. But he has supremely the Christian virtue of compassion, and he shows a pity for "ill used fellows." One poem which seems to me to throw a little light upon the mystery of this poet's inner life is called "Easter Hymn":

If in that Syrian garden, ages slain,
You sleep, and know not you are dead in vain,
Nor even in dreams behold how dark and bright
Ascends in smoke and fire by day and night
The hate you died to quench, and could but fan,
Sleep well, and see no morning, son of man.

But if, the grave rent and the stone rolled by,
At the right hand of majesty on high
You sit, and sitting so remember yet
Your tears, your agony and bloody sweat,
Your cross and passion and the life you gave,
Bow hither out of heaven and see and save.

* * *

And So Forth

The municipal elections always take place on the first Monday in November. This year they have not made a very marked difference in the political color of our cities and burroughs. But Labor has lost ground; the Conservatives have gained; and, most significant of all, there is a marked increase of independents. These elections give a certain measure by which local enthusiasm can be estimated. It is true, I think, that Labor is suffering from a certain mood of discouragement.

That most famous football player, Prince Obolensky of Oxford, has confessed his faith in the book, *Be Still and Know*. He declares that to him life without God would be pointless, and "so I have faith in him." He belongs to the Orthodox church. "What has been good enough," he says, "for ten centuries of Obolenskys is still good enough for me."

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Leaders Named By Presbyterians

Scottish and English Presbyterians Elect Moderators—Conduct Outdoor and Mission Work

(Correspondence from Scotland)

WHITLEY BAY, Oct. 31.—The first of the Presbyterian churches have just announced the names of their 1937 moderators. The Church of Scotland, according to the new method of nomination described last month, has picked Dr. Dugald Macfarlane of St.

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Columbia's Church, Kingussie—a Highlander to his finger tips, the first Gaelic-speaking moderator in 35 years. Licensed in 1895, after an assistantship in Edinburgh, he was called to the historic parish of Glencoe, was later translated to Arrochar and has been in the summer resort of Kingussie since 1906. He has thus served only in the Highlands. There he has shown a genius for discovering lads of promise who, receiving a good secondary education, could be passed on to the universities to fill places in school, in laboratory, in the churches. He has been active in educational work, on school boards, bursary committees and the like, and has been a member of the Assembly's Highlands and Islands committee continuously since 1911—himself the convener for 8 years. He was the Church of Scotland's delegate to the Presbyterian Church of Canada's General Assembly at Winnipeg one year, and the Gaelic services he conducted in many places in that dominion were deeply appreciated by the Highland settlers there. He has the gift of eloquent speech in English as well as Gaelic, and genuine Highlander that he is, is a man of fine loyalty and courtesy, who will worthily maintain the high traditions of his church.

* * *

English Presbyterians Elect a Scot

The Presbyterian Church of England, true to form, has picked for its chief office a man whose name gives unmistakable clue to his origin, Rev. James Burns. Mr. Burns was, however, educated in England and has spent all his ministerial days there. After serving in three different parishes, he resigned the last, at Stoke Newington in north London, in 1924 on account of ill health, since which time he has given inestimable service in the establishing of churches at Welwyn Garden City and at Edgware, and is now about to undertake six months' duty at St. Andrew's Church in Rome at the request of the Church of Scotland. He is a quiet, cultured man, an authority on art (his volume of illustrations from great pictures has been a boon to preachers), and has recently published a *New Pulpit Manual*.

* * *

Conduct Open Air Work

The Church of Scotland is showing real strategy and wisdom in its open air work, and last summer was the best summer yet in this respect. Rev. D. P. Thomson, a young minister not to be confused with the ex-moderator, Dr. P. D. Thomson of Glasgow, resigned his charge at Dunfermline a year or so ago, to become a home mission deputy in charge of this work. He is a man of initiative and resource, brim full of new ideas and energy. He has gathered round him an excellent team of ministers who can slip away from their parish duties on occasion when there is a campaign in their district or near by, and he also takes out groups of theological students. One scheme that has been very successful with the students has been to take a party of them to Glasgow Green or some spot hitherto monopolized by communists and race tipsters, and turn them loose to address the crowd. Thomson mingles with the crowd and at the close of an address proceeds to put the student through a cross-examination as to his faith and experience. This is of great assistance to the youthful speakers and arouses the keenest interest of the bystanders. Time and again, the crowds have been drawn from around other rostrums by this novel method.

* * *

Hold Seaside Mission

The seaside mission on the Ayrshire coast consisted of daily meetings for both adults and children at Ayr and Prestwick and twice-weekly meetings for adults only at Troon. The aggregate attendance during the two months was over 70,000, and on six or eight occasions there were crowds of 1,000 or more at a single meeting. Over 100 ministers and students took part. While the expenses of the mission were between £400 and £500, these were all defrayed locally, the closing thank offering alone amounting to over £50. Skirting the edge of the crowd at a meeting, one would overhear such remarks as "didna ken oor kirk was daein' this," or "delighted to see this, it is well worth while," or "high time we were doing it." As a result of the evening meetings, many "contacts" were made and there were several definite decisions. The children's hour was on the sands in the forenoon, and there was plenty of other variety to the mission. There were parable plays, flower, flag, gift and museum services, picnics, tide fights, garden parties, midnight lantern lectures, visits of silver bands, etc. One of the most impressive services was on the low green of Ayr one cold blustering night toward the end of August. In spite of the counter-attraction of a pipe band concert, the crowd grew to over 300 people, listening to a meeting conducted entirely by students. It started with a Psalm tune, and closed in the gathering darkness with "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross," and consisted simply of a series of moving addresses on aspects of the cross.

* * *

Teaching Ministers Business

Are ministers unbusinesslike? The Glasgow and West of Scotland Commercial College has just started a business course for ministers, not on the ground that they are lacking in a business sense, but with the purpose of providing them with useful information in the light of the large number of subjects on which their advice is sought. The course is to deal in a large and practical way with a great variety of matters of common interest—bookkeeping, balance sheets, the conduct of meetings, agenda, minutes, filing of correspondence, income tax in relation to the church, life insurance, trusteeship, old age pensions and many other similar subjects.

* * *

University Stresses Religion and Life

This has been Religion and Life week at the University of Glasgow. The speakers have included Canon Raven of Cambridge, Rev. James S. Stewart of Edinburgh, Rev. George Macleod of Govan, Rev. W. T. Elmslie, general secretary of the Presbyterian Church of England, Rev. A. C. Craig, Miss Ruth Rouse, Father Martindale and Father D'Arcy. Protestants and Catholics have met together at the lunch hour, separately in the evenings. The aim of the week has been "to get every student to think just a little bit more seriously than ever before about religion and one's relationship to the rest of the world and the universe."

MARCUS A. SPENCER.

Peace Campaign Shows Disunity

Madison Square Garden Half Empty at Service—Federal Drama Popular—Teachers Defend Jerome Davis

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Nov. 16.—The great Madison Square Garden mass meeting on Nov. 11 sponsored by the Emergency Peace Campaign, was a disappointment. With a seating capacity of more than 20,000 the garden was probably not quite half full. And this was not due to any lack of advance publicity or preliminary "drumming up." Churches, synagogues, labor groups, colleges and universities, clubs, settlement houses and peace organizations were freely drawn upon for purposes of strengthening the local machinery and for filling the 20,000 seats. Why, then, was this vast hall—easily filled when sporting events, circuses and political campaigns come to town—half empty? That question was freely asked around the press table.

* * *

Campaign Lacks Unity, Program, Appeal

A partial answer to the question seemed to lie in the program itself. The peace movement in America does not present a united front. Although there is a common objective, the road along which organized groups are seeking to lead the masses of the people has split, with one fork leading to the right and the other to the left. Nothing was more obvious at Madison Square Garden. Those who saw peace as a realizable objective within the framework of the profit system could count on applause from certain sections of this audience. Those who stood definitely on the proposition that modern wars are the logical outcome of the whole capitalistic setup and must be dealt with accordingly received their applause from another section. Only such national figures as Norman Thomas and Senator Nye could overcome this obvious division in their audience. I simply record this observation for what it is worth. The result at Madison Square Garden was a long program, full of dramatic highlights and well prepared addresses. But as a mass movement, firing its participants with a zeal for preserving the peace, it was not at all convincing. If our country's peace depends on the sort of war resistance which this meeting symbolized it would be well for the sponsors of the E.P.C. to re-define their strategy and to strengthen their front before entering upon the second year of their nation-wide campaign.

* * *

Teachers' Union Protests Jerome Davis' Dismissal

Prof. Jerome Davis' dismissal from Yale, already discussed in The Christian Century, is still being protested by students, colleagues and the liberal metropolitan press. The best organized effort, however, to bring about Professor Davis' reinstatement comes from the New York Teachers' Union. In a preliminary memorandum of facts, just released, some of America's most prominent educators bring an unflattering indictment against the Yale policies in general and against President Angell and Dean Luther Weigle in particular. The latter's statement to the press to the effect that Professor Davis' recent book, *Capitalism and Culture,* did not show "a very great degree of scholarship" is refuted with an impressive array of testimonies from distinguished educators. Three colleagues, moreover, in the Yale divinity school, have come forward with commendatory statements.

* * *

Academic Freedom The "Real Issue"

But the burden of the indictment which the Teachers' Union brings against Yale is that academic freedom is being tampered with. The investigating committee has found "numerous facts" which indicate that Dr. Davis was "continuously subject to criticism by the authorities of Yale for speeches which he made before Y.M.C.A.'s, religious and educational groups." One address in which he characterized the Insull interests as "higher racketeers" brought vigorous protests from Samuel Insull, Jr., Yale alumnus, and from the Middle Western Utilities Company. As an instance of interference from within the Yale corporation itself the memorandum quotes from a letter written a number of years ago by Howell Cheney, member of the Yale corporation, to Dean Weigle, warning him to "do something to counteract Professor Davis' activities in the labor world." It seems to be the consensus of opinion among educators, both inside and outside the Teachers' Union, that Professor Davis was dismissed, not because of any academic disqualifications but primarily because of his radical tendencies. A further report of this investigation is promised some time this month. The *New Republic* of Nov. 18 is devoting a special supplement to the publication of the report of the case by a committee of distinguished professors.

* * *

Federal Theater Dramatizes Noah and Fascism

The New York theater—all but dead three short years ago—has never been more alive and influential than it is today. During the past week I attended two performances: "Noah" in upper Harlem, and "It Can't Happen Here" on the edge of the "Great White Way." They are as far apart in theme and purpose as they are geographically, but each proves once again that the sponsors of the WPA theater are determined to create drama of the people, by the people and for the people. "Noah" is a glorified Sunday School presentation of the Bible narrative, written, staged and dramatized by Negroes and adorned with touches of modern comedy and pathos.

* * *

European Fascism Appears in "It Can't Happen Here"

But while "Noah" is not unimportant as a dramatic venture, the big show in New York is Sinclair Lewis' "It Can't Happen Here." So great was the acclaim which its long awaited production evoked that three separate performances—one in Yiddish—were rehearsed, all at the same time. And the attendance fully justifies the undertaking. Sinclair Lewis' portrayal of the rabble rouser, Buzz Windrip, who makes himself

Freedom of Opinion

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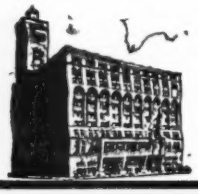
America's fascist leader, is of a piece with his description of Elmer Gantry. Being thus over-burlesqued he is not convincing, and the play would be better if he did not appear on the stage. But in characterizing fascism as an accomplished fact in some countries, and as a possibility in America, Mr. Lewis is a true master of his art. I recommend to every reader of this paragraph an early visit to one of the 21 federal theaters where "It Can't Happen Here" is being played.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER.



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The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

All American Chump

(Erwin, Armstrong, Furness) (RKO) Rather stupid concoction about dumb hero trying to cash in on his mathematical talents in a sideshow. Crooks interfere, so he gives up and retires to country. Romance included. Many laughs for those who laugh easily.

For A: Stupid. For Y: Poor. For C: Poor.

Charge of the Light Brigade

(Errol Flynn, De Haviland) (Warner) Technical masterpiece. Romanticized history. Bloodcurdling massacre, revenge, love, insubordination made to replace the famous "blunder." Shows glorious "charge" with most complete and terrible realism yet done. Powerful theatrics.

For A: Notable. For Y: Very doubtful. For C: No.

Everything Is Thunder

(D. Montgomery, C. Bennett) (G-B) Absurdly pretentious title for dreary struggles of English soldier escaping German prison camps, helped by floppy haired courtesan whose love helps him win. Hardly motivated, colorless, monotonous, with little dramatic tension.

For A: Very poor. For Y, C: Useless.

Come Closer, Folks

(J. Dunn, W. Gibson, M. Marsh) (Columbia) Mouthy hero, sidewalk hawker, played up as great "salesman" for selling worthless junk by lies, cheating his way into department store job, ruining store, saving it by same methods, marrying boss' daughter! Stupidly distorts values.

For A: Absurd. For Y, C: Better not.

Mad Holiday

(Lowe, Landi) (Para) Just that. Movie star of detective thrillers runs off for ocean trip, the girl-author of same stories also on board. Then hokum, thrills, they stumble over corpse after corpse, low comedy, even Zazu Pitts gets drunk. Just burlesque mystery.

For A, Y: Fair of kind. For C: No.

Rose Bowl

(Tom Brown, Larry Crabbe) (Para) Dull, elementary football yarn about very small-town college winning place in Rose Bowl! Includes puppy romance and commercialism in colleges. Even the football playing doesn't look real. Dialogue banal, acting feeble, realism childish.

For A: Stupid. For Y, C: Inane but harmless.

Tarzan Escapes

(Weismuller, O'Sullivan) (MGM) The Tarzan absurdity, with idiot yell, maudlin love motif, grim jungle tragedy, now adds actual shooting of animals, horrible killings of men, and still incessant faking. The preposterous made vividly real. Neurotic food for the young.

For A, Y: No value. For C: No.

Without Orders

(Armstrong, Eilers) (RKO) Supposed glorification of air-transport service, by contrasting hero-pilot with utterly cowardly and caddish rival, made merely sensational nerve-wracker. Features hard-drinking by pilots, non-opening parachutes, heroine's impossible heroics, etc.

For A: Mediocre. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

Best Recent Films for Family:

Swing Time
Educating Father
Back to Nature
Thank You, Jeeves
Old Hutch
Gay Desperado

Films of Special Interest to Adults:

Libeled Lady
Devil Is a Sissy
Dodsworth
Valiant Is the Word for Carrie
Cloistered
A Woman Rebels

BOOKS RECEIVED

Pamela's Daughters, by Robert Palfrey Utter and Gwendolyn Bridges Needham. Macmillan, $3.50.

Peary, by William Herbert Hobbes. Macmillan, $5.00.

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1936. The University of Chicago Press, $3.00.

Neutrality and Collective Security, edited by Quincy Wright. Harris Foundation Lectures, 1936. University of Chicago Press, $2.50.

The Theory of the Land Question, by George Raymond Geiger. Macmillan, $2.00.

The Birthright of Babyhood, by Clarence Wesley Summer, $1.00.

At the Point of a Lancet, One Hundred Years of the Canton Hospital, by William Warder Cadbury and Mary Hoxie Jones. Kelly & Walsh, Shanghai.

Christ's Way and the World's in Church, State and Society, by Henry Smith Leiper. Abingdon Press, 90 cents.

In the Steps of St. Paul, by H. V. Morton. Dodd, Mead, $2.50.

Through the Woods, the English Woodland, April to April, by H. E. Bates and Agnes Miller Parker. Macmillan, $3.00.

Christmas, An American Annual of Christmas Literature and Art, edited by Randolph E. Haugan. Vol. VI. Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, $1.00.

Christmas Again! by Hans Peter Gravengaard. Chapman & Grimes, Boston, $2.50.

Prisons and Beyond, by Sanford Bates. Macmillan, $3.50.

The Master of Millshaven, by Clarence Hawkes. Chapman & Grimes, $2.00.

What It Means to Grow Up, A Guide in Understanding the Development of Character, by Fritz Kunkel. Scribners, $2.00.

Our Faith, by Emil Brunner. Scribners, $1.75.

The Interpretation of History, by Paul Tillich. Scribners, $2.50.

The Purpose of God, by W. R. Matthews. Scribners, $2.00.

The Development of Religious Toleration in England, 1603-1640, by W. K. Jordan. Harvard University Press, $5.00.

The Unlocked Door, Showing the Way to God, by Alice Bishop Kramer and Albert Ludlow Kramer. Revell, $1.00.

The Saga of Gisli Son of Sour, translated from the Old Icelandic by Ralph B. Allen, illustrated by Rockwell Kent. Harcourt, $2.50.

Shine, Perishing Republic: Robinson Jeffers and the Tragic Sense in Modern Poetry, by Rudolph Gilbert. Bruce Humphries, Boston, $2.50.

Within That City, by Arnold Lunn. Sheed & Ward, $2.50.

South Carolina Poets, edited by Henry Harrison. Henry Harrison, New York, $2.00.

New Jersey Poets, edited by Henry Harrison. Harrison, $2.00.

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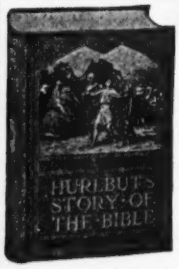

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Plain Thoughts on Worship

By Edwin A. Goldsworthy

The minister of the First Baptist Church of Rahway, N. J., has had unusual opportunity to study the art of worship. He has studied under masters of that art, and his father, William A. Goldsworthy, is organist in the famous St. Marks-in-the-Bouwerie where the author spent some years collaborating with him in working out the forms of worship used by Dr. William Norman Guthrie. Dr. Goldsworthy examines the problem from every angle. He includes children's worship, music, and the use of drama in his simple but comprehensive presentation.

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50 Sermon Talks for Boys and Girls

By Carl S. Weist

Dr. Weist, pastor of the Mt. Vernon, N. Y., Community Church, has gained an enviable reputation as a preacher to young people. This first collection includes only sermons that appealed to the audiences of boys and girls from 7 to 15 years old before whom they were delivered.

Here are some of the titles:

Are You a Jelly-Fish?
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The Game of Gossip
Why the Flag Fell to Pieces
What a Football Thinks About
The House That Hearts Built
The Story of a Friend
Trains Won't Wait
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The Sign of the Clan
A Happy Bus Conductor

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The Use of the Bible in Preaching

By Carl S. Patton, *Professor of Homiletics, Pacific School of Religion*

"IT is time for a renaissance of biblical preaching," proclaims the author of this book. The Bible, he says, is little read today, is not expounded systematically even in churches, and its contents are unfamiliar to the average man and woman.

But this new book is not a plea for a return to the "old Bible," literally expounded. It is a plea that the minister use in the pulpit the critical knowledge of the Bible which he has gained in his study. That does not mean that the pulpit is to be turned into a lecturer's desk to teach higher criticism to the congregation, but that the results of the critical study of the Bible be used for their great homiletic value. Thus seen, the Bible is no collection of detached texts, but a record of spiritual experience.

Dr. Patton shows how the minister can use the materials found in the Old Testament, especially, to gain the quick interest even of the jaded radio, movie and newspaper-fed public. He includes in the book a number of complete sermons which were written under the inspiration of this idea, and delivered to his own congregations.

Ten-Minute Sermons

By Lewis H. Chrisman

The professor of English literature at West Virginia Wesleyan College has gathered together 77 sermons, each a work of literary and homiletic art as well as an inspiring message. His subjects are both timely and timeless, covering social and personal religion, sometimes treating "difficult" texts, but always in simple terms. Though each sermon can be read slowly and thoughtfully in ten minutes, each has the structure and content of a full length sermon —and will germinate and flower in the reader's mind.

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Says BURTON SCOTT EASTON
in The Living Church

"If the great gains that have come to us through historical understanding of the Bible are not to be sacrificed, a revival of biblical preaching is imperative. There are books galore on biblical knowledge, but these the great mass of the laity simply will not read. To reach and help such persons is the task of the preacher, and the clergyman who neglects the opportunity is laying up infinite trouble for the future. In the past, no doubt there was a lack of assistance for the busy parson in bridging the gulf that lay between historical exegesis and homiletic needs, but this lack is now being rapidly supplied; and among the relevant helps, Dr. Patton's book ranks high."

$2.00

Drama in the Church

By Fred Eastman

The author of this book has not written just one more manual of amateur drama production. He has endeavored to create a practical manual that sums up in brief compass the most important things drama groups should know for the task of *producing plays in churches*—not as entertainment but as a means of ministering to the souls of men through a great art. Dr. Eastman has for many years been Professor of Biography, Literature and Drama in the Chicago Theological Seminary.

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CAPRETAX BULLETIN

(CAPITAL-RELIEF-TAX)

Number 2

Marxism is Wrong!

That Karl Marx perceived the tremendous economic fact of Ground Monopoly too late in life; and that his tardy recognition of it was embodied in posthumous editions of "Capital" as an appendix having no organic relation with the body of the work; was pointed out in the preceding number of this bulletin.

Claiming that private capital is the original and fundamental force which exploits labor, Marx and his followers have never understood how Labor and Capital are joint victims of Ground Monopoly; that both Labor and Capital together must produce enough to liquidate ground rent and taxation before Labor can receive wages, and before Capital can draw interest or make profit.

Inaccurate Definition of "State"

That the modern "State" represents victory of the "bourgeoisie" (capitalists) over medieval groundlordism, is the false and preposterous doctrine advanced by Marx to explain the phenomena of modern parliamentary government.

As a matter of actual record and provable from the structure of existing legislative institutions, the modern state (whose pattern originated in Britain) is a compromise between the historic prestige of Land and the economic energy of Capital. The failure of Marx and his followers to grasp this fact is correlated with the faulty Marxism proposition that Labor is oppressed and enslaved by Capital.

"Marxism vs. Fascism"— a False Issue

On the basis of these economic and political errors, Marx and his followers have precipitated the false claim that civilization is now compelled to choose between Common Ownership of Productive Capital and Private Business Enterprise.

Marxist propaganda has accordingly provoked and raised up the opposing force called "Fascism," which is based upon premises equally false with those of Marxism itself. *And in the face of this threatening new form of reaction, the disciples of Marx are now retreating into opportunism in search of allies among liberals and progressives, while temporarily holding in abeyance their platform calling for public ownership of productive capital.*

The strategic ideology of this move is that cooperating liberals will be automatically imbued with Marxism and become converts through acting against the common enemy. *The subtle intrusion of Marxists into the background of the liberal movement furnishes evidence which helps to justify Fascism and keep it alive.*

Today's Real Issue: Fate of Productive Capital

Since the modern State represents compromise between Capital and Ground Monopoly, *the logic slowly taking form in the midst of today's confusion is not class war between employers and employees, but the liberation of Productive Capital (as distinguished from "finance capital") by the transfer of taxation, as far as possible, from industrial and agricultural enterprise to ground values, improved and unimproved, in city and country.*

Issue Further Confused by Henry George and "Singletax"

To dismiss these propositions by saying, "Oh yes! Henry George!" is not only to credit the author of *Progress and Poverty* with more economic and sociological insight than his works reveal, but also to misread the unfolding of today's tragic history.

In a way which alienated men of wider acquaintance with economic thought, George proposed exclusive taxation of ground values on the theory that such values alone are "a social product, due to the presence of society"; whereas he assumed that capital pertains to "the individual," and therefore should not be taxed.

But capital (i.e., "productive instrumentalities") cannot be explained by individual reference. As a fact in today's world, it is the result of exploitation through past epochs. Capital is that portion of material goods which is used for the purpose of *producing more goods:* and as Dewey and Tufts have emphasized in specific contrast with George, "the wealth of modern society is really a gigantic pool. No individual knows how much he creates; it is a social product. To estimate what anyone should receive by an attempted estimate of what he has individually contributed is absolutely impossible" (*Ethics,* 511).

"Social value," as a measure of the distinction between land and capital, was unwittingly discarded by George himself in saying, *"the social organism secretes, as it were, the necessary amount of capital" (Progress and Poverty,* Bk. 1, ch. 5).

Adam Smith on Monopoly, Value, Exploitation, Taxation

"As soon as the land of any country has all become private property, the landlords, like all other men, love to reap where they never sowed, and demand a rent even for its natural produce. . . . Nothing can be more reasonable than that a fund (i.e., ground rent) which owes its existence to the good government of the state should be taxed peculiarly, or should contribute something more than the greater part of other funds toward the support of the government" (*Wealth of Nations,* Bk. 1, ch. 6; Bk. 5, ch. 2).

Smith wrote at a time when it was dangerous to speak too plainly; and his real significance has been ignored not only by most professional economists, but also by Henry George.

"Capretax," not "Singletax"

The demand that fiscal burdens be shifted from productive capital to ground values is not based upon impossible distinctions between "social" and "individual" value; *it arises out of the urgent, but inarticulate, need of business and agriculture to be liberated from the intolerable pressure of inflationary ground rents and an unscientific revenue system which overburdens actual production while promoting speculation in land.* Hence the situation calls for a "capretax" (capital-relief-tax) rather than a "single," or exclusive, levy.

This measure is compatible with the cooperative program and with public ownership of enterprises involving exclusive rights-of-way over land, such as railroads, telegraph, telephone and pipe-line systems, etc.

Free Reprint from "The Christian Century"

A free reprint of an article by Louis Wallis in The Christian Century, entitled *"The Economic Problem and the Earth,"* can be obtained by sending your name and address, plainly written on a post-card, to Willett, Clark & Co., Publishers, 440 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.

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More information about the development of modern parliamentary government; the pending reversal of the compromise between Land and Capital in Britain; and the economic problem in general can be obtained from a little book—

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The Christian Century

Special Section

Volume LIII **November 25, 1936** **Number 48**

In Two Parts ***Part Two***

To The Christian Century Family:

THIS supplement is nothing but a personal communication from the editor to each reader of The Christian Century for the purpose of sharing some letters which have recently been received. These letters are intensely interesting human documents. My colleagues and I have taken such hearty interest in reading them that we took counsel how to share them with our entire family of readers. The obvious way to do this would be to expand our Correspondence department to such proportions that it would include them or a major portion of them. But that, clearly, would throw the issue of The Christian Century containing the letters out of all proper journalistic proportions. Besides, the occasion which prompted the letters is now ancient history—the election is long since past, and we have no interest in threshing old straw.

We believe, however, that the essential importance of the letters lies not in their reference to campaign issues but in their purely human reaction to a periodical which, in line with its established and avowed character as a journal of religion, expressed its opinion on the presidency. We concluded that the letters were not of sufficient *public* interest to warrant their inclusion as a substantive part of The Christian Century. They are therefore being presented as a detachable supplement which need not be thrust upon the many thousands who are not subscribers, nor bound into the permanent volume which libraries and many readers keep year after year. Though the general public will not be interested in reading these letters, I cannot help believing that they will be of genuine—even if only momentary—interest to our subscribers. In the form in which they are presented, the reader, after perusing them, can cast the supplement aside while the main part of the paper is preserved in the usual manner.

In all the long period of my editorship of The Christian Century I have never lost my sensitiveness to the expression of our readers' opinions. One of my most poignant regrets is that it is impossible to acknowledge all such letters and express my appreciation of their spirit or their merit, and even "go to the mat" with those whose arguments do not seem to me to be sound or fair. Obviously, this cannot be done. But I can truly say that the opinions of our readers are one of the chief sources of whatever wisdom the pages of The Christian Century contain.

A journal of religious opinion confronts peculiarly delicate problems in our day. No one knows better than the editors of The Christian Century that it is not infallible. Perhaps it speaks sometimes with a tone of greater assurance than it intends—this is the way of most editorial writing, both secular and religious. And I wish to assure any reader who differs sharply with us in any matter, and who under stress of great feeling makes a drastic decision and uses harsh language, that he continues to be held without resentment or the slightest prejudice in the editorial esteem. It is difficult for a journal of opinion to keep an independent mind. It is easy to reason that the less provocative way is the safer one. But whatever may be true of other periodicals, I have long since formed the conviction that our readers desire their Christian Century, whenever it has a con-

viction, to speak out, and that we propose always to do.

These letters are only a fraction of those we have received. They are selected at random, and represent therefore a fair cross-section of our total correspondence just before and after the election. I have no desire to comment upon them in any way, or to characterize them, or suggest any "wise" interpretation, or to point a moral—I only wish to share them with the members of the family for whatever value or suggestiveness they may find them to possess.

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your readers for the most part appreciate, I am sure, your courage in printing the editorial, "For President: Roosevelt." I have not written you earlier, because I have taken it for granted that such an editorial is what I ought to expect in a magazine which is fully Christian.

Let me tell you that your support of humane and forward looking policies is winning for you a much wider circle of friends. The Christian Century is being praised publicly in meetings of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union. During the campaign just ended, I have found farmers and workingmen very much alive to the need for replacing the profit motive with cooperation for the public welfare.

As for The Christian Century, let it continue to speak the mind of Christ with courage, and it will receive a welcome from all God's people, in whom the clearer light of day dispels the mists of misunderstanding. Accept this as the humble opinion of a Presbyterian pastor.

Montana. D. S. M.

SIR: I am enclosing check for renewal of my subscription, assuming that in spite of the condemnatory letters in regard your "For Roosevelt" editorial, you will be able to continue publication for at least one more year.

Indiana. D. W. H.

SIR: After reading the section under "Correspondence" in your Nov. 4 issue regarding "For President: Roosevelt" it is evident I should have followed my original impulse to compliment you on this editorial.

Considering your publication an outstanding exponent of Christian journalism, I took your editorial for granted. I don't always agree with you, but thank God for presentations from an intelligent Christian source on so many important aspects of current life, which one seldom finds in the "local" newspapers. This was so obvious in the presidential campaign just concluded. More power to you!

New York. A. B. R.

P.S. I was one of those who voted for Landon.

SIR: Your note at the beginning of "Correspondence" in the issue of Nov. 4 leads me to write. I know that you are not really concerned about the reaction to your editorial backing President Roosevelt; but, still, it is good to hear from those who stand with us, although we are confident that behind us there is tremendous approval.

The flood of condemnation you received reveals certain things about human nature, or, if you prefer, about many human beings:

1. Indignation moves us to action more effectively than commendation. Most of us approved of your editorial and let it go at that. Those who disapproved got "mad" and wrote in.

2. Nothing causes us to lose perspective like politics. Your editorial was most restrained. Those of us who greatly admire Mr. Roosevelt felt that if anything you might be accused of damning with faint praise. Your attitude is about that of "Common Sense," be for the President until after election and then ride him to death.

3. The practical impossibility of getting persons to understand the English language. E. N. Gause, Mound City, Kansas, accuses you of believing that Roosevelt is controlled by Moscow and Landon by Hearst, both of which positions you held up to ridicule.

4. The ease with which we say things that within six weeks we shall regret. All the persons who are never going to have anything more to do with The Christian Century are merely letting off steam. No one who wishes to be abreast of the times religiously, and I might also say economically and politically, can well do without your periodical.

The persons to whom I have shown your editorial liked it immensely.

I am enclosing two new subscriptions.

California. O. F. G.

SIR: Although I have observed for some time a tendency in your editorials to overrate the New Deal, I was disappointed, if not surprised, to find you taking an editorial position in favor of the re-election of President Roosevelt. The reasons given in support of your position seemed to me singularly unconvincing, especially by comparison with your many well-reasoned editorials on peace and other subjects.

Unlike many of your critics, I do not think you would have improved your position by supporting the candidacy of Governor Landon, whose campaign speeches have indicated that he would have been even less likely than Roosevelt to keep America out of war, who has offered no constructive economic program, and whose stand with respect to prohibition is no more acceptable to well-informed "drys" than the President's.

Nor do I consider it necessarily improper for a religious journal to express a preference among candidates for political justice, provided the choice is based upon moral issues. But I believe it would have been more consonant with the principles for which I had supposed The Christian Century stood, not to have been satisfied with a selection of the lesser of two evils, but to have spoken out forthright for the candidate whose program, both in its immediate demands and in its ultimate objectives, most nearly coincided with the Christian conception of the Kingdom of God on earth, regardless of the fact that he had no chance of being elected.

The attitude of some of your readers, whose views, as expressed in letters rebuking you for your political stand, make me wonder how they could have tolerated your publication as long as they have, impels me to state that I do *not* intend to express my disagreement with your position in the presidential campaign by discontinuing my subscription for your excellent publication.

Missouri. F. W. F.

SIR: By the time you receive this letter the elections will be over; but I want to commend you and your journal for the editorial "For President." Its temper and content were splendid and well reasoned; just as your comment on the candidates and issues over the last six months have been eminently fair and helpful. It seems to me that The Christian Century represents in an admirable and rarely equalled fashion the spirit and method of liberalism without blindly embracing all of liberalism's dogmas and fetishes. Nor in a pinch do you, like so many professed liberals, retreat into the reactionary camp. I know of no other magazine of similar circulation, religious or secular, which has done so much to expose the political prejudices, hypocrisies and illusions of organized religion while, with candid impartiality, pointing the churches toward the ultimate implications of Christianity.

I fail to find anything in the past policies of The Christian Century or in the present editorial which justifies the indictment of injudicious partisanship. In 1932 you supported Herbert Hoover (but I do not remember any answering hail of "boos"). In the recent election you favored Mr. Roosevelt. In neither instance did I follow your recommendation. But in this matter as in other controverted issues I am bound to respect and thoughtfully consider your penetrating arguments. Rather should the charge of unseemly and blind partisanship be leveled at those dissenters who would deprive themselves of the weekly visit of your stimulating magazine only because they disapprove your support of the President. It is like disrupting a long standing friendship because you hold opposite political views; it is like resigning your church membership because you don't like a particular sermon the pastor preaches.

Many of your correspondents are bitter over the "wet" issue, forgetting that Mr. Landon has studiously avoided the prohibition question so as not to alienate the industrial east. Now I was reared in bone dry Kansas and later became first president of Allied Youth in California. But I question both the religious insight and political strategy of those absolutists who give the impression of equating a dry America with the Kingdom of God. The more genuine issues in 1936 concern peace, public utilities, civil liberties, concentration of wealth, unemployment and social justice.

An honest independent editor occupies a hot seat these days. I for one hope you will continue to edit The Christian Century as you have in the past, confident of a growing circle of thoughtful readers. Enclosed are my subscriptions for "The Pulpit" and for "Christendom." I am thinking seriously of giving The Christian Century as a Christmas gift to some of my friends.

California. P. E. P.

SIR: Judging by the emotional explosions in the letters published in your Correspondence section this week, it seems that you would seriously question the effectiveness of The Christian Century's "gospel" of truth and tolerance.

How is it that otherwise thoughtful, intelligent men and women who differ with you in the choice of men for President, express such bitter intolerance? Is it a rebound from the irrefutable logic of your editorial "For President: Roosevelt"?

You may be sure that many of your readers consider as childish such statements as these which too often appear in your published correspondence: "I have always, or for the past few years, looked upon this paper as one of our best, most fair papers. But after reading the editorial in this week's issue I have completely changed my mind." And, "I have taken your paper for many years, I find we must part company" . . . "Your paper will not help me much in the work I am trying to do."

Enclosed you will find a check for the renewal of my subscription.

Tennessee. M. W.

SIR: I write, somewhat belatedly but none the less sincerely, to express to the writer of your editorial "For President: Roosevelt" my deep appreciation. As a member of the Socialist party, who voted for Norman Thomas yesterday, I agree with every statement you have made in that editorial regarding the campaign and the candidates. My vote went to Mr. Thomas on two grounds primarily: First, that the Socialist platform embodied the traditional Socialist policy on armaments "not a man, not a cent, not a gun" for military and naval establishments. Second, that he is definitely committed to the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of a social order based on the principle of production for use and not for profit, while President Roosevelt has repeatedly emphasized his determination to save the profit system while changing its more degrading features for the better. I could not bring myself to vote for the man who signed the Vinson Naval bill without a protest, or who stood behind an agricultural program based upon the economics of scarcity in a land where children are starving on the farms as well as in city tenements.

But as between Governor Landon, so obviously the willing tool of the industrialists of this country, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who in four years has accomplished more in the field of social legislation than the preceding three presidents did in twelve years, there could be only one choice for any Christian, it seems to me. You made that choice, you committed yourselves to it, you publicly avowed it and gave excellent and sufficient reasons for so doing; and for all this I respect you and congratulate you.

Let me also congratulate you on the ringing challenge of your editorial "Demilitarize the Chaplaincy." You have said about all that needs to be said on that subject; either the churches mean business when they say war is unchristian, or they do not. If they do, of necessity the chaplaincy must be taken out of the present military status and made truly a ministry of the Christian church to the men of the service. Thank God for your fearless phrasing of what may well prove to be one of the most vital issues of our day in the fight between church and state that seems so rapidly approaching its culmination. Amen and benedictions on every sentence of that splendid presentation of the problem of the chaplaincy and state control.

One last word. Every year, at about this time, I begin to think about sending The Christian Century to certain of my intimate friends. Last year I sent only one gift subscription. This year, with the inspiration of that issue of Oct. 28 still upon me, I shall send at least two and probably three. The Christian people in this country need such a magazine as you are giving us. Don't be discouraged by the few dissenters who make a lot of noise. I have agreed with almost every article your editorial staff has written for the last two years, and this is the first time I have ever written to express my thanks. More power to you, and I mean the power of the Spirit, which I believe guides your editorial pen.

Maine. M. A. H.

SIR: Your editorial, "For President: Roosevelt," was great. Please accept my heartiest congratulations. We need more journals like The Christian Century—journals that state their positions fearlessly, and with courage!

One of your correspondents stated, in a letter published in The Christian Century, that he objected to your paper going into politics. Does that person think that such a vast field of human endeavor should be ignored by a weekly, whose very existence is to give its readers a weekly evaluation of current affairs—politics included?

My subscription expires May 1. You can count upon a speedy renewal.

Oregon. F. E. E.

SIR: When I read your endorsement in The Christian Century of President Roosevelt, I was astounded. Just to think that a journal like yours, which has stood for high, moral standards and for honesty of purpose in one's dealings both public and private.

I couldn't help thinking that you had fallen from grace, and required a change of heart, when you chose to stand with President F. D. Roosevelt, the falsifier—Farley the rabble leader in the encouragement of brutal prize fights and Stanley High, the author of the "Good Neighbor" in the Roosevelt campaign, who for a mess of pottage is following the Savior afar off, and putting him to an open shame as did Peter in the garden.

We want the recognition of all that is high, holy and pure in these United States of ours and a frowning on all that is base and ignoble. Not the encouragement by the government for liquor consumption to increase taxes at the expense of the damnation of the souls and bodies of men.

I vote for Governor Alf Landon because I think him honest.

Nebraska. J. S. T.

SIR: Having cast the die and begun to recover from the intoxication of the campaign, you doubtless have already meditated on the possibility that the same madness that prompted you to take sides in the political struggle was responsible for the venom with which your announcement was met. I join in the criticism of your action on the heels of a circular which pointed with pride to your record of non-partisanship. It was not unchristian nor immoral, but it was poor tactics.

Again, after portraying the issues so clearly that your subscribers were able to discount the campaign of the daily press, it was doubtless too elementary to proceed to tell us how to vote. The majority of us already concurred with your views.

And finally it ought to be plain that religious leadership can no longer assume the prerogative of influencing the thought of their constituency as they did in the days of Beecher or Channing. The function of religious leadership is now limited to leading in public prayer, something which the local barber, for example, cannot do.

In spite of your great lapse, I shall probably renew my subscription in due time.

New York. L. W. B.

SIR: The flood of letters you are receiving about your editorial on Roosevelt leads me to add to them.

It is generally understood that no minister of any sect or denomination is to preach politics from his pulpit, or from any platform, or by written word.

This raises these questions: Does this restriction also apply to denominational papers? Does this restriction also apply to undenominational papers, such as The Christian Century claims to be?

To the first question, I would say that the restriction probably applies.

To the second question, I would say that the restriction does not apply, and that you were perfectly in order in writing the editorial.

The Christian Century—since I have read it—has "covered" all sorts of questions: religious, economic, social, philosophical, literary, political. Why should it not have editorials on any of them?

What amazed me was that only two of the letters in your latest issue said that the writers had had any idea that you were tending toward Roosevelt. Your subscribers must include a lot of Dumb-Doras. I voted for Landon.

Pennsylvania. C. W.

SIR: Enclosed please find my check for $4 to renew my subscription for The Christian Century which expires next month. I certainly want to thank you for the frankness with which you discussed the political issues of the campaign that has just closed and for your fearless endorsement of President Roosevelt. I am a Methodist and have always felt that the masses of the people must always be considered by the government.

The result of the election was the approval of the whole nation of the President's philosophy of government, and was the mandate of the people against such radicals as William Randolph Hearst, Al Smith and Father Coughlin. It certainly was amusing for *these* gentlemen to appeal to the people against the New Deal on the theory that the President was a communist and a dictator.

I feel that as a ruler, President Roosevelt is one of the greatest humanitarians of all ages. We certainly appreciate the assistance that you gave by your endorsement of the President. Yours for continued success.

Indiana. W. O. O.

SIR: One of the reasons why I read The Christian Century is because I do not always agree with it, in its positions on particular questions. I do agree with it in its "open forum attitude," and in its insistence—or shall I say "assumption"?—that religion, at least in its Christian tradition, has to do with society. It just is not "Christianity" if it does not deal with the problems of society. Therefore I cannot sympathize with your protestors, quoted in the Nov. 4 issue, who are "angered" (perhaps a little), "indignant," "nauseated"; least of all with that writer who wonders "just why the underprivileged should have supreme consideration." There is, in that particular case, so evident a total lack of familiarity with the gospel tradition as to cause no wonder that this reader protests. How did you ever get *that* subscription?

Does not the fact of such protests indicate the need of a series of articles developing the social background of religion in the Bible, beginning not later than the invasion of Canaan? Perhaps Chester McCown, or Louis Wallis, or some other reputable scholar might be persuaded to do the writing.

I voted for Mr. Thomas. Of course—no, cross out "of course"—I preferred Roosevelt to Landon and "the privileged forces which stand behind him." It seemed sinister that Hearst, Al Smith, the "Liberty (?!) League," ex-Senator Reed and the "tories" in general "ganged up" behind him. It made me feel sorry for Landon. It was a pity that the Republican campaign should be conducted on the basis that "the goblins'll get you." It was evident from Wednesday's editorials that they did not believe their own words. Nor must one forget Father Coughlin! One wonders if he has his gun and bullets ready, and remembers that he, too, was of "the forces behind" Landon.

No, I cannot agree with The Christian Century in supporting Roosevelt. But I do agree with your right to support him, and your duty to express your convictions as forcefully as you could. We need that kind of journalism. There are so many of us who think that way that we take it for granted that you know we agree with you; and we no more propose to mob you for not agreeing with us or snow you under with words of congratulation than we propose to stand with those who threw stale eggs at Browder in Terre Haute or refused to let him speak in Tampa or refused to rent him a hall in Buffalo. We really believe in freedom of speech and the press. My subscription was just extended!

New York. L. A. G.

SIR: I, too, read your editorial, "For President: Roosevelt" and your intention to support him at the polls. I have just read the correspondence that followed, samples appearing in the Nov. 4 issue.

It is astonishing how we ministers so generally agree that there are two sides to every question: "My side and the wrong side." In a recent conference on the Preaching Mission there were fourteen of us, and the only thing on which we agreed was to disagree. We had fourteen men of conviction, insight and judgment, and each man was right.

It is evident, Mr. Editor, that you had quite a number of people who were in sympathy with the conclusions as expressed in your editorial. This does not necessarily express my personal opinion. In the spirit of some of these fellow clergymen, I, too, feel moved to serve notice that whenever in your opinions expressed editorially you agree with me 100 per cent in all social, economic, political, educational and theological questions, you are to cancel my subscription. For many years I have been a subscriber to your excellent journal, but when there is no more difference of opinion between us, I am through.

Iowa. E. W. H.

SIR: It was with a great deal of amusement that I read the various so-called "stinging" letters of condemnation of your recent sanction of Roosevelt for presidential re-election. It was a good sociological study for me because it gave a fine cross-section of the unintelligence of the thinking of some people who indulge in reading high class literature but still are not sufficiently intellectual enough to have established an open minded attitude toward anyone expressing his honest opinion.

Personally I receive enough stimulus from The Christian Century which would overshadow any disagreement I might have with its editor upon any matter religious, social, political or moral. I fear for the intellectual future of this country when we allow petty political ideas to hamper our association of ideas. If for no other reason than in admiration for your courage to give your ideas at such a hectic time, I would renew my subscription to The Christian Century.

Maine. R. P. B.

SIR: It was very fine prior to the election to have in your columns the articles upon the several presidential candidates as written by prominent and eminent supporters of each. That constituted a real contribution to your readers as they studied issues and men against election day.

Against your concluding editorial, upon the eve of election, however, I am forced to voice my vigorous protest. There is a very true sense in which the religious journal should find itself governed by the same ethical principle which should control and generally does control the pulpit. It is not the province of the pulpit or the church to recommend those for whom to vote, rather to proclaim the principles of a vital faith leaving it to the individual to do his own thinking, to make his own choice of men at the time of election. It matters not here that the one you supported in your final editorial was one not acceptable to me. I would still challenge your action had you supported the one for whom I voted. It is not the question of whom you recommended—rather that you saw fit to recommend anyone. In swinging your influence (and your word weighs much with some), you were entering a domain in which you had no right, in which a keener sense of the ethics involved (and you are not slow to stress the ethics involved in each and every issue), would have dictated absolute silence. A very considerable number of your readers, ministers particularly, are tremendously disappointed (that word hardly expresses it), in the matter upon which I write you.

Michigan. R. L. K.

SIR: If this letter is published, it must be anonymous, for the simple reason that my job as pastor would be jeopardized if it

were known that I commend you for your editorial supporting President Roosevelt.

But I do commend you. I was wondering how you could refrain from giving him public endorsement.

I think I know exactly how you felt before you wrote your editorial endorsing Roosevelt. You probably felt that here is a man who is making a great fight to move our economic order leftward by orderly procedure, and your own loyalty to truth and right would not permit you to let him make the fight without your active help. In your editorial you were splendidly loyal to great and constructive convictions.

Perhaps you will lose a few subscribers as a result of the editorial. But, all of us who read your editorials in the future will read them with greater trust and confidence. We know that you are honest, and possess a conscience which will not permit you to be passive in the face of clear duty.

It is a sad commentary upon the kind of leadership our Protestant churches have had in the past that Protestants in so great numbers can become the fervent, not to say hysterical, defenders of reaction which they have been in this campaign. A long and hard campaign of Christianization lies ahead of us, and it cannot be conducted without whatever degree of courage it is wise for each one of us to exert.

Pennsylvania. Sadly Anonymous.

SIR: May I assure you that at least more than *one* reader appreciated your "coming to an editorial conclusion" in the recent presidential campaign ("race," we might have said before yesterday). That your readers were not unanimously in agreement with you, you of course knew; that you did not, however, stay in the class of those "merely reporting," but weighed that evidence and stated the result as you saw it, was greatly appreciated by at least a few of us. Your right to state editorially your position, giving your reasons, is certainly as unassailable as a minister's right to lend his personal influence (and what minister didn't, to some extent?), even though not his pulpit (as more than one did, regrettably), to his choice. Your "sin" was, a perusal of the letters leads one to suspect, more that of disagreeing with rather violent partisan convictions than a transgression of journalistic ethics. And it might shame our bitterness a bit to remember that there were people who hated Lincoln bitterly enough to kill him; history seldom justifies bitterness.

Although I started "pro-Landon," I now rejoice in America's declaring for a liberal continuance rather than the retrogressive spirit so disastrously presented by my party. One thing the landslide seems to reveal: the common man's distrust of the "big business" and reactionary forces backing one candidate, and his feeling that in the President he has at last found a champion. I am sorry the common man could not have found that champion in the church; possibly some of last week's "Correspondence" helps to explain why.

Wisconsin. F. D. L.

SIR: I have just lately returned from a trip into Colorado and New Mexico and notice your editorial "For President: Roosevelt." I am utterly surprised and disappointed. You attempt to speak for Christian America and say "Vote for Roosevelt." I do not know what election day tomorrow may bring forth, but I do know that whatever The Christian Century may have to say hereafter on matters relating to temperance or good government will have very little interest to me.

Kansas. J. E. T.

SIR: Your article on "Roosevelt for President" was exceedingly fine. I took it to the editor of "The Hamilton Journal" and he published the latter half verbatim.

I want to thank you for your progressive attitude in this campaign.

Ohio. J. P. S.

SIR: Your extended editorial "For President" in the current issue brings forcibly to mind an ancient Collect in that you, in this editorial, have said that which ought not to be said and have left unsaid that which ought to have been said and there is no soundness in you. I have been an admiring and grateful reader of The Christian Century for very many years and, indebted to its leadership as I am, it hurts when you are obviously unfair as this editorial reveals.

I note that your reasons for voting for the re-election of Mr. Roosevelt do not include his usurpation of the functions of congress, his attempted detours around the supreme court whenever existing law stands in the way of his "program," his reassuring but jaunty words for peace after achieving the largest military budget in our history, nor any one of several achievements subversive of popular liberties and all certainly tending toward a dictatorship.

I regret that you deferred making announcement of your intentions too late in the campaign for adequate answer and can only hope that your very partisan declaration will have the same effect on your readers generally as it does on me in very much reducing my confidence in your leadership. This variation from the keenness and strength of your usual moral vision, as I view it, causes deep regret on my part. But that result is not so disastrous as it would be if the nation should be influenced to follow you in the election.

The country needs an administration that is truthful and consistent and strictly honest in the old fashioned "horse and buggy" implications of that word.

Texas. H. B. H.

SIR: This is simply to say that I am disappointed beyond measure at your editorial advocacy of the re-election of the present national administration. I have generally agreed with and been delighted in your socially minded editorials, and have read with eager interest the many contributed features. I fear that your editorial supporting the re-election of President Roosevelt will deprive you of much of your moral and spiritual leadership. Please believe me as being sincerely and sorely disappointed in your editorial position.

New York. J. G. Y.

SIR: If The Christian Century has always stood for the rights of the underprivileged, why did it endorse for the presidency a candidate who has been silent concerning the desperate plight of the sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the cotton belt; who never upheld the legal rights of labor to organize conferred by Section 7-A of the NRA when that right was denied by the powerful steel and automobile industries; who never included in his "must" legislation a Federal Anti-lynching bill; who has passed by on the other side countless violations of civil liberties, terrorism and vigilantism, all in defense of the overprivileged and directed against the underprivileged, whom The Christian Century and its candidate allegedly champion; who accepted the supreme court decision on the N. Y. State Minimum Wage Law without a protest; who by the admission of The Christian Century itself has shored up and extolled an economic and social system which spawns the multitudes of underprivileged?

Why did not The Christian Century support a candidate and a social and economic philosophy which unequivocally by deeds, not flowery speeches, stand for the emancipation of the underprivileged? Of course I realize such a position might have reduced its subscription list to almost zero, but the moral idealism to which The Christian Century subscribes should have been willing to pay the price.

New York. J. H. S.

SIR: Your lengthy editorial in the Oct. 28 issue of The Christian Century giving definite and outright support to the campaign for the re-election of Franklin D. Roosevelt, will give many of your readers reason for pause. Your many references to the merits of the two presidential candidates, as given in former issues of your paper, were received by your readers with the customary, "I believe," or "I do not believe," what you say. Now that you come out so definitely supporting the re-election of Mr. Roosevelt, I for one will take issue with your stand.

Your attitude on matters of peace, foreign affairs, race relationships and church movements, has been marked by a definite degree of sanity and understanding. Now that you come out in the political field, where the issues are so clearly drawn and opin-

ions are widely divergent, there are some of us who believe that you are altogether out of step, and that decisions on whom to support in the coming election might well be left to the average voter. On the whole you will find your readers fairly intelligent and thoroughly capable of making their own decision.

Michigan. H. W. F.

SIR: Your editorial "For President" was very well expressed. I suppose that, like Stanley High, you were well paid for it.

North Dakota. A. F.

SIR: I want to thank you for your fine editorial endorsing Mr. Roosevelt. I have often been grieved at your criticisms of him, but I know there are things to be criticized. However, when I weighed both sides I balanced on his side as did you! Well, I see the Better Government Association have come out in a reply to you. I had already written them protesting against their partisan recommendations and after their dodger against you, I am through with them.

The Christian Century is a great comfort to me. One year I sent it to an old friend in Ohio for a Christmas present and now she takes it instead of the Atlantic Monthly. Thanking you again.

Illinois. Mrs. D. G.

SIR: Your editorial in the October issue which champions the re-election of President Roosevelt is extremely disappointing. Not that you have no right to your own opinion, but for an independent magazine to be so one sided in its presentation of political issues is inexcusable. This editorial is merely a culmination of other articles which indicated your political complexion. I for one want you to know I do not agree with your conclusions as stated on page 1415 but contend that just the opposite are true.

Doubtless this will be merely one of hundreds of protests you will receive and many will come from those who seldom register a protest. It is disappointing that your record for splendid, well balanced editorials should be so marred.

Arizona. M. L. G.

SIR: You really surprised me in coming out for Roosevelt; I surely expected you would be for the erstwhile clergyman, the Rev. Norman Thomas.

I wonder if there is anything more antisocial, from the Christian's viewpoint in these times of social upheaval, than the way America's liquor traffic is being conducted under its revival as a new deal measure, which drew votes—even from many churchmen in 1932—to produce the Roosevelt landslide.

Let me suggest that you now write an editorial—a companion piece to your last June's "The Church in Danger of Its Soul," and that you base it on the paragraph in Governor Landon's address at Madison Square Garden, reading:

"We want more than a material recovery in this country. We want a moral and spiritual recovery as well. We have been allowing material things to obscure the great religious and spiritual values. . . . It would be tragedy if in our attempt to win prosperity we would lose *our own* souls."

And speaking of losing our own individual souls, one wonders how the souls of religionists will fare, who in their socially, good-neighborly-imbued enthusiasm, and for probably huge stipends, are seeking to influence the continuation of the liquor-soaked Roosevelt administration.

"God give us men!" Christian men—but Christian men who are willing to put spirituality, and not spirits, first, into our national political economy!

Illinois. C. F. K.

SIR: "So that's what you think!" in your editorial, "For President: Roosevelt."

Illinois. E. F. Z.

SIR: The drift of a publication is indicated by its leaning in a crisis. When the enclosed dispatch came in over the ticker tonight I could not but believe that some influence—such as is evident on every hand—from the person who put liquor back on sale and destroyed the work of Christians for several generations, had cast its spell over your personnel and that you had forgotten. So you like the dives and roadhouses and its damnable works. Well it may not strike you and your family—and it may.

So The Christian Century likes lying, deceit, broken pledges and mismanagement. You like it? How can you, the advocate of the great Church of Christ, adhere to such principles? So you like it and want it to continue? O.K.

Indiana. A. M. C.

ENCLOSURE

Chicago, Oct. 22.—(UP)—The religious publication, The Christian Century, announced today it is "convinced that the future welfare of the republic will best be served by the re-election of President Roosevelt." The publication, in an editorial appearing in its Oct. 28 issue, said it had never been "moonstruck" over Mr. Roosevelt, but based part of its decision on "the failure of the republican campaign to develop a genuine alternative to the program of the present administration." The administration, it said, "whatever its faults, has shown a deep-seated concern for the welfare of those elements in the national life which have hitherto exercised least influence."

SIR: I cannot refrain from sending you a note of congratulation on your coming out for Roosevelt in the present campaign. I could not see how you could do otherwise, but appreciate all the more your careful survey of the situation, which indicates that your decision was arrived at through the processes of rationalization.

It will be interesting to read the reactions of our ministerial brethren, for I find a great many of them, particularly the older men and the men in the larger churches, find it hard to break from the old allegiances, and easy to rationalize themselves into the Landon camp.

One of the Baptist brethren in our state has circularized the ministers to the effect that we must depend on our business men for the support of our churches, for we cannot expect much from the relief workers. The latter is, alas, all too true when so many religious leaders take the attitude of supporting the capitalists. Every Christian minister and every layman who takes Jesus at all seriously will have to answer this vital question sooner or later. It is almost unbelievable to see how the idea of fascism is appealing to many of our people! They should ask themselves frankly if Jesus would be as welcome today in Germany as in Russia. The hope of perpetuating our genuine American ideals is through the wonderful opportunity the church has to minister to the needs of the reliefers, and others who have been unfortunate in our mad rush of rugged individualism. Truly, they are like sheep without a shepherd, and if any considerable number of them should come to our Christian churches for shepherding, I am afraid that most of our leaders would hardly know what to do with them.

We have very pleasant memories of your visit to our campus a few years ago, and I thank you for the continued spiritual and intellectual leadership that I find in The Christian Century.

Iowa. C. F. L.

SIR: Referring to your editorial, "For President: Roosevelt" in the current issue of The Christian Century. You have a perfect right to express your personal preference; but, I am writing to inquire if you did not grant your moral judgment a leave of absence when you wrote that editorial?

My question is not prompted by the purely demagogic cant, "The Christian Century has always stood, as it has believed religion must stand, for the rights of the underprivileged. . . ." May one safely assume that "The Christian Century has always stood, as it has believed religion must stand," for honesty and decency? Certainly it would seem that among persons of pretended intelligence and moral sensibility some things may be taken for granted; or, is it necessary for you to assure the public that you are opposed to thievery and wife beating?

Nor is my question prompted by the assumptions and implications of your espousal of the new deal candidate for re-election, as expressed in the words, " . . . we see in that [the candidate's refusal to be bound by his 1932 platform] evidence of the type of leadership which alone offers hope of measuring up to the re-

quirements of unpredictable crisis." No European dictator could ask for a neater statement upon which to base his autocratic whims. The implication plainly is that the new deal candidate for re-election will continue cavalierly to make words mean what he wishes them to mean, and to do what his fancies impel him to do.

Neither is my question prompted by the fatuous statement that the new deal administration, "whatever its faults, has shown a deep-seated concern for the welfare of those elements in the national life which have hitherto exercised least influence."

That part of the editorial which puzzles me extremely, even amazes me, and gives rise to my inquiry, is that in which you so easily dismiss the moral question involved in the repudiation of the 1932 platform by the new deal candidate for re-election. Strangely, you find nothing immoral in that repudiation, though admitting that it was repudiated, but rather attribute a virtue to it, as being "the type of leadership which alone offers hope of measuring up to the requirements of a period of unpredictable crisis."

Morally, the new deal candidate for re-election is just as guilty of subversion, of breach of contract, as I would be if I should enter into an explicit agreement with you, accept specific commitments from you, mutually stated, mutually understood and mutually agreed to, and then should refuse to be bound by those agreements. There can be no moral justification for the refusal of the new deal candidate to be bound by his pledged word; and I should least expect you, of all persons, to dismiss the moral question involved in such refusal.

You may vote for one who holds leadership and authority by subversion, one who repudiates his solemn agreement, one who refuses to be bound by his pledged word. Under our American system to date that is your privilege. I refuse to vote for one for president, if I am aware of it, who unabashedly and jauntily holds his word so lightly. That, thank God, under our American system to date is my privilege.

New York. M. S.

SIR: I think a good many of us were surprised to know that The Christian Century had declared for President Roosevelt. I have not been able to stand for his attitude on repeal which has been a ghastly failure, and I have not been able to stand for his action in signing without a word of protest a bill for a billion dollars for "defense" purposes when we do not need one dollar for defense purposes. I am not able to endure an administration that seems to me to represent a number of absurd and unnecessary expenses for what is called human welfare. I have supported Governor Landon with enthusiasm and I hope he will be elected. In the words of the old Roman philosopher "Mea Me, tua Te, delectant." We don't quarrel over sincere convictions.

Kansas. C. M. S.

SIR: I needed no reminder but was nevertheless glad to have your message. I look eagerly for every copy—it comes while I am at work in the high school library—and I have to read it through ere I sleep. Then I take you to school. We have an interesting young man who heads our social science and civic department, and I pass it on to him. He uses it in his classes and then files it for use in class papers and the like. So you can see I am helping others—as best I can.

This is just a note of thanks to let you know how glad I am that we have such a Christian magazine. I am helped and stimulated by your editorials. Enclosed find check for $4, a sum well spent.

California. Mrs. O. M. H.

SIR: It would be indeed interesting to know what effect your courageous editorial, "For President: Roosevelt," actually had upon subscription totals. As for my reaction, your endorsement of the President would have resulted in an immediate subscription, had I read your editorial as a non-subscriber.

You are to be commended for publishing those letters of protest in the Nov. 4 issue. But such pathetic pratings! Insofar as they came from conscientious conservatives, they can be comprehended and borne in silent sorrow. However, perchance any of the writers consider themselves liberals, they should surely seek a clearer social outlook.

It has been my conviction for a long time that the conscionable Christian could not but vote to re-elect President Roosevelt. Now that the nation has overwhelmingly concurred, it is unnecessary to offer arguments in his behalf. But in conclusion, I would like to quote a single statement from a British financial publication:

"President Roosevelt may have given the wrong answers to many of his problems, but he is at least the first president of modern America, who has asked the right questions."

California. O. S. G.

SIR: So the protests on the editorial "For President" are falling on your desk "like autumn leaves." Surely your editorial experience is long enough to recognize that it is human nature to be vocal in our protests and silent in our agreements.

After reading this correspondence the surprising thing is that people of that evident trend of mind should ever have read The Christian Century. To us your editorial did not seem out of place but rather as a natural evolution in your progressive, nonpartisan interpretation of the developments of the political scene. We ourselves had to split our ticket and go outside of our lifelong party affiliations to register our convictions in this election.

Not having been very long readers of The Century we had long since become discouraged at the static condition of the church and religion operating seemingly in a self-imposed vacuum of its own. But our courage is restored in each week's reading of your paper in the knowledge that there is a voice that dares speak out without counting the possible dissenters and a leadership not entirely engrossed in census taking of its fellowship. It is so much easier and pleasanter to say nothing and do nothing, but it gets none of us anywhere.

New Hampshire. W. T. W.

Rev. George W. Allison, Ft. Wayne, Ind.:

SIR: Reading your letter of protest in the current Christian Century against the Roosevelt editorial, I second everything you say. The fact is that The Christian Century has for a long time been more a newspaper than a church paper; a few reports on churches in the back more especially distinguishing it from the newspapers. My private opinion is that the editors or perhaps more correctly certain editors of the paper are in the same mental category into which Roosevelt falls: intellectually dishonest.

California. E. C. Y.

[Copy sent to The Christian Century.]

SIR: Congratulations on your editorial, "For President." I missed my opportunity to read it when my copy of The Christian Century came owing to a transfer in churches. When I read the unmerciful panning you received in the issue of Nov. 4, I made haste to dig up the earlier copy. Again I say, Congratulations! I am a native of Kansas, a Republican, and I would have voted for Landon if the change in residence at this time had not prevented. Even so, your analysis is sound, your candor refreshing, and your decision defensible. I have no fault to find. Kindly continue my subscription ad infinitum. Congratulations!

Kansas. T. A. W.

SIR: This is to do what I should have done before, to write you commending your editorial on the presidential election. I write not so much in praise of the particular editorial as to defend your right to write it. I note with pleasure that most of the critics write with some charity and temperance and they are to be congratulated upon that, but one cannot but wonder why, when The Christian Century previous to the 1932 election wrote an editorial endorsing the candidacy of Herbert Hoover, these critics of yours did not have the same objections that they now make. Fundamentally it must be rather clear that their criticism of the editorial was that it endorsed Roosevelt rather than Landon.

Why is it that Christian people still seem to believe that temperance was an issue in this last election? Have they forgotten that the repeal measure passed Congress some time before the inauguration of President Roosevelt? Are they ignorant of the fact that Governor Landon is a drinking man, although I believe temperately so? That his public stand on the wet-dry issue has been, to speak diffidently, extremely equivocal? Neither candidate

mentioned the issue; if Landon were a dry here was a point where he could have taken clearer issue with the President; he failed to do so. I am a life long dry, but I do flatter myself on being able to realize that there are other issues of equal or greater importance to Christians than that one. When will the Christian church wake up?

California. D. F. G.

SIR: There were thousands who read your editorial and approved it to one who took exception. The majority of those who criticized only gave momentum to your reasons and conclusions.

We who were elated of course took for granted that every reader of The Century would be courteous at least. Criticisms sometimes are boosts.

Ohio. F. M. K.

SIR: Very interesting indeed was the violent reaction against the stand which The Christian Century took in relation to the recent election. I wish neither to commend the stand nor criticize it, but rather to comment on the reaction to it; for it was a typical illustration of how the self-styled "broadminded Liberal" in our country reacts. It seems to bear out the contention that lethargic complacency is the cohort of quasi-critical liberalism—a complacency resulting from confusion and lack of any definite conviction, rather than from informedness and conviction. It has been a proving ground in which the liberal ideas could no longer gain their strength from the ossified conservative roots (attitudes), but had to give way to the rise of conservative saplings, which come forth and claim for themselves the same fruitfulness that might have been true of the ideas, had they been fed by live roots. This is borne out by the assertions of those who found that they could no longer subscribe to the paper that had for years been the standard bearer of Truth, Liberty and Progress, merely because in one instance it had failed to conform with their own ideas of this Truth, Liberty and Progress. It is akin to the vain discharge of a faithful old servant merely because he seemed to have been disloyal in one instance. Such action as the many protestors have shown is none other than a negation of those very "broadminded" principles which they pretend to have held. Have they perhaps not realized how loudly they have made their denials? This seems to me to mark the point where Hearst also becomes the vicious negator of democracy and progressive broadmindedness.

We who glibly profess to be "broadminded" must be certain that it is really broadmindedness which we uphold, rather than a vague, contentless, pointless idealization which becomes aware of its truer nature only when it is threatened by that very nature it professes to uphold. To the editors and the staff—keep up the good work!

Missouri. E. J. M.

SIR: I have been reading The Christian Century at the public library for several years. Being somewhat critical as an old bachelor usually is, I have told the librarian on several occasions that if I had to give a blanket approval to a magazine, it would be yours. There is a logic and fairness about your editorials that "grip" me—a kind of affinity between mind and truth. Pages 1467-1468 of Nov. 4 by some of your readers, prompted this card.

Pennsylvania. M. B.

SIR: Your editorial in support of Roosevelt was so reasonable and inspired by regard for the greatest good at the present moment, that I accepted it without realizing that you needed words of agreement.

I am very sure a majority of your readers had a similar feeling. The riled ones put pen to paper. Again you have evidence that many people look upon the established order as sacred. Strange how they get that way, for the established order has been disestablishing itself for at least ten years. Thank you for knowing what you think, and then knowing how to say it.

Ohio. E. B.

SIR: In your issue of Oct. 28, you elaborated at length on the election campaign, and wound up by declaring your preference for a presidential candidate; as an individual you have a right to your opinion, but as editor of The Christian Century I question your ethics in publishing your political opinions. After thinking over the subject indicated above, and considering the recent political campaign, I think that your magazine could render constructive help in a general way but not by taking sides.

New York. J. C. S.

SIR: Inasmuch as so great a cloud of witnesses for Governor Landon was called forth by your editorial "For President," with letters highly critical of the editorial, please be assured of my great approval of your discussion in your columns of just such issues.

While the landslide for President Roosevelt (unexampled since 1820) does not prove either the correctness of your editorial analysis, or of my deeply concerned pre-election ideas, it does evidence an overwhelming popular endorsement of what some of us are pleased to consider a peaceful revolution. The attitude evinced in all the letters of protest which you received is, I fear, only too representative of the resistance which conservatives throughout history have always presented to change. It is a wholesome thought for them to ponder that the resistance of conservatives rather than the agitation of radicals produces the bloodshed of revolutions.

I have no doubt that there will be a revulsion against President Roosevelt. I hope and believe that he is wise enough and astute enough to use the enormous power so recently confided in him for clearing up many of the ills in our body politic. In the meantime, thanks for your editorial, with the anticipation that your criticism of President Roosevelt's coming term will be as helpfully constructive as it has been during the past four years.

Pennsylvania. F. R. T.

SIR: When my present subscription to The Christian Century and the Pulpit expires, please discontinue. I cannot support a publication that, to my mind, gives a very one sided account of conventions, general conferences, or synodical gatherings of any church. Neither can I support a publication which advocates the election of a man who certainly fulfilled his promise of four years ago of repealing the 18th amendment, and, to my mind, one who has broken his pledge that the saloon under no circumstance must return to the American people. Neither do I agree with you in supporting a man who has riddled the civil service and, to my mind, has led in setting up a class war.

These things are certainly not Christian. Of course, you have the right of your own opinion, but I understood The Christian Century was going to be fair in its presentation of the rival claims of the candidates. Why did you put off your endorsement so late that there was no time to make any reply?

I have taken The Christian Century ever since it has been published and am sorry to come to the parting of the ways, but I cannot bring myself to sacrifice principle even though it cost the privilege of reading The Century. Of course, this will make no difference to your circulation and it is with no thought of injuring your organization or paper that I reluctantly take this step. How can two walk together, unless they be agreed in principle?

Oklahoma. S. W. H.

SIR: I was disappointed in The Christian Century's position on the election—more romantic rationalizing of the "Roosevelt or Reaction" variety—but it won't keep me from renewing my subscription. Renewal is enclosed herewith.

New Jersey. E. L.

SIR: The letters which you have received in comment upon your editorial, "The Presidency," are most amazing—amazing that politics could so affect men and women who have been readers of your periodical, and amazing that the letters are so characteristic of the futile leadership which had so much to do with the failure of Governor Landon who deserved a better fate.

New York. E. G. R.

SIR: I had already renewed my subscription to The Century before your now famous editorial endorsing President Roosevelt was written. Being of Scotch ancestry, I would not cancel it in any event and lose the money; but it happens I do not want to. Deliver me from a journal which has not the sense and the sand

to make up and express its mind on important subjects. As a Congregational minister, I am amazed that Dr. Bradley should attempt to set up a parallel between a journal like yours, and a minister in his pulpit. And, further, does Dr. Bradley disown Henry Ward Beecher, Lyman Abbott, Washington Gladden, and men of that type who did not hesitate on occasion to give utterance to their endorsement of both men and measures?

I write chiefly, however, to express my sense of both shame and regret that my brother ministers are so often "poor sports." They cannot "take it on the chin" as other men do. (Don't suspect me of listening to prize fight accounts over my radio. I do not.) They get so much praise and adulation, they are too often unable to accept a hard knock. I sadly fear that if your editorial aforesaid had been in endorsement of the Republican candidate, they would have written in praise of it. Four years ago and eight years ago, it was very evident to any reader of your journal that you were for Mr. Hoover. You may not have said so quite so openly as this year you gave Mr. Roosevelt your backing, I do not recall as to that. But certainly no one who read your columns could doubt where you stood. But did you get such a barrage of protest as this year? Verily not. I repeat, I am ashamed of a large section of my brethren. They are not "good sports."

California. F. C. R.

SIR: Has it taken you until now to decide? Or, did you conclude that you could do more for F. D. R. by reserving your announcement till too late for any comeback? Is it only now you come into the "Good Neighbor League"?

Kentucky. W. O. C.

SIR: I have read with very keen regret of your commitment in favor of continuing the present administration. I have no party allegiance for since 1912, have voted for Presidents Theodore Roosevelt (twice), Wilson (twice), and Hoover. Surely one would expect that a magazine devoted to the religious life of mankind would have very much concern over the lack of moral responsibility shown during these four years. With sincere disappointment.

Ohio. H. B. D.

SIR: Some time ago I was sitting by you at a luncheon and remarked that I had it on my mind to write you a letter about The Christian Century and you kindly invited me to do so. I have been slow in getting around to it. But now that the election campaign is over, I can write without heat and as I hope with more light, I am taking advantage of your request.

I regret that The Christian Century decided to come out for any presidential candidate. It is a professedly religious journal, and as I recall the Founder of Christianity took no political side in his day. He appeared to know that if the individual was all right society and the state would be likewise. He stood for a brotherhood of man rather than a democracy of man. I think that religious journals and the pulpit would do better by keeping out of the field of politics unless the issues at stake are vital, moral and religious issues.

So far as I can see there are none such in the campaign just closed. A Christian community can live as well under one form of government as another, if that form is the expression of the people.

A political campaign is bound to produce rancor, and the one just closed has certainly produced class hatred, and I regretted to see that The Christian Century was adding its bit to that spirit.

I am not one afraid of names and can see good in Socialism and even in Communism, if the right spirit prevails therein. In one sense our country has been the most communistic in the entire history of mankind. Our thousands of colleges and eleemosynary institutions proclaim the fact. And the world has never before seen such benefactors as this country has produced. Rockefeller, who was maligned as worse than a horse-thief a generation ago, has shared with his fellow man more wealth than all the professed communists the world over today. A man like Edison or Ford is worth millions of men like myself to the body politic. Yet Ford is denounced in some quarters as if he were a highway robber.

I have noticed that The Century in its sympathy for the unfortunate has allowed its good judgment to be subordinated. I have read in its columns comments and articles on the Haymarket Square Riot, the Sacco-Vanzetti Case, and the Tom Mooney Case that disheartened me because of prejudice and ignorance manifest. Anyone who knows human nature knows that twelve men in a jury box are averse to taking the life of a fellow man; and in all these cases mentioned there is every evidence that higher courts have given patient, honest and humane consideration to the pleas of the accused. That does not mean that there may not have been mistakes made but those mistakes cannot be rectified by mobs in the streets. There is every evidence that Tom Mooney is being exploited by a bunch of lawyers and allies, that the public is being imposed upon. Much literature has been sent to me about this case and one picture representing Mooney as a broken down old man. But I chanced to see his picture one night in a movie when he was about to appear in court, and a spryer and healthier individual I have rarely seen even outside prison walls.

I would not ask a religious journal to be dumb on political matters or matters of government. The Christian Century might well advocate a reform in our system of representation in the Senate where a few small states like Delaware, Idaho, Wyoming and Nevada, with a population less than the city of Chicago, have as great a representation in the Senate as New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Ohio. And in the case of presidential tie, they would have an equal vote in the House of Representatives.

Moreover, a religious journal might advocate a return to a fuller recognition of the basic principle of our government, and advocate an amendment to the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution that would prevent the Supreme Court from employing that amendment for the protection of corporations when its entire purpose was to give and protect the rights of the former slaves. Moreover, there are other things that could be advocated with entire propriety and effectiveness without stirring up the hatred of those who have not all they want against those who are regarded as having more than they are entitled to have.

I remember the "Independent" edited by Bowen, which ended very "dependent"; and later I read Dr. Abbott's "Outlook," which under Theodore Roosevelt became so circumspect by many it was called the "Lookout." I hope no evil may befall The Christian Century and that it may not ultimately become just "The Century." It has been an honest, fearless journal, which I have for years profited by reading.

Illinois. E. T. L.

SIR: On the eve of our National election I take this opportunity to register my disapproval and surprise at The Christian Century taking sides in a Presidential campaign, especially when the forces seem to be so evenly divided. Although I have observed for some weeks there seems to be a trend in the direction of fascism among the editorials.

When I subscribed for The Christian Century I thought I was acquiring for my reading table a non-partisan, non-political, nonsectarian periodical. Evidently I was mistaken. With the expiration of my subscription there will be one subscriber less on your list.

Ohio. A. R. C.

SIR: I was very much impressed by your article in the Oct. 28th issue of The Christian Century, declaring yourself for Roosevelt, and your reason why, etc. Your article is very enlightening. It enlightens us to the fact that you believe in whiskey, because no one believes in Roosevelt unless *they* believe in whiskey, and you believe in Tandem-Mormonism, as Parkes Cadman called divorce and quick remarriage.

I started out with those special campaign certificates you sent, but after reading that article about your admiration for Roosevelt, I went back to the people and told them *not to take* The Christian Century, that it was not Christian any more, and that I did not intend to renew my subscription. I suspect you will smile at that, for I presume you get big money flopping to the whisky side, like Stanley High selling his soul for $15,000. We have taken The Christian Century for years and years, but I believe in temperance, I have a strange idea the Bible teaches

it, and I am just old fashioned enough to still read and study the Bible, and take it for my guide.

Iowa. S. P. L.

SIR: It seems most impossible for me to withhold any longer making my contribution to what must certainly be an almost unanimous protest from ministers of many creeds who have tried to honestly follow the discussions of national issues in the present presidential campaign. It is most inconceivable that you would use your office and the editorial columns of your magazine to advance the cause of any party in a political campaign. You have assumed a role that certainly does not belong to a Christian minister or as editor of a magazine that circulates so largely among Christian ministers. I fear lest my subscription would stop right here had I not so recently renewed my subscription to the Christian Century. I hope you can justify your effrontery and save yourself from the betrayal of our confidence in the future.

Ohio. H. V. M.

SIR: In your last issue I notice you come out for the re-election of President Roosevelt. So by that I assume you are in favor of the so-called New Deal or as others call it the orgy of reckless spending, also the buzzard and N.R.A., the A.A.A. and the many other exhibitions of reckless folly that the supreme court has upset, his Passamaquoddy and Florida crackpots, his likening himself to George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln. Is it not a pleasant thing to know that Christmas comes after election day. I suppose you also favor his insinuations against the supreme court, at least you said nothing against it. Well I am surprised at your attitude for after reading your paper for the last number of years as I have I am surprised that you did not go to the end of the road and advocate what you have been preaching for some time and register under the banner of Norman Thomas.

New York. H. G. T.

SIR: I am writing on the afternoon of election day. As yet the only returns that have come in indicate a Landon majority in New England—nothing more than what has been a virtual certainty for months. So my reaction is as of pre-election points of view.

Your issue of November 4 has just come to my door, and I note that your editorial in favor of Roosevelt has got out the republican vote. This is no more than is to be expected; as a rule, those who are stepped on squawk sooner and more loudly than those who have been tickled. I want you to know at least one other Christian Century reader, besides the one you heard from, voted for Roosevelt; and it happens that I would have voted for Roosevelt for much the same reasons as you proposed, even if you had not proposed them.

But however the election may turn out, the objections which were raised to your editorial were ridiculous. You have a right to prefer one candidate to another; and you have a right to base this preference on "religious" grounds; and by all means you have a right to state both preference and grounds in The Christian Century. Please don't let a little peevish yapping deprive us of your opinions on all such important moral questions as a presidential election. I am for you.

Massachusetts. H. C. J.

SIR: I commend your utterly Christian attitude in appraising the major candidates and issues of the recent election. When this campaign was well under way it became apparent to us that the Republicans, exponents of laissez-faire, having no record to point to and no adequate platform to stand on, must resort to defense mechanism tactics, popularly known as "hook or crook." Thank you again for fearlessly identifying the way of life with the truth. Another appreciative subscriber.

New York. Mrs. M. N. R.

SIR: Noting in the Christian Century of Nov. 4 just received the protests on your editorial "For President: Roosevelt," I must just write a line to thank you for that editorial as the best statement of the whole truth at issue in this election that I have seen; and to tell you that I have gladly used the article to help one or two of my parishioners, still undecided, come to a decision; and that at our last "Ministers Meeting" (mostly Congregationalists and Unitarians) all but two out of twelve were strong for Roosevelt. Again thanking you.

Massachusetts L. W. S.

SIR: This morning on returning from the polls, The Christian Century brings me the chorus of condemnation poured out on the Editor for his clear-thinking and just editorial "For President."

I am an old line Republican but I have seen unscrupulous and dishonest business and banking running the government and nation until it became the paradise of plutocratic plunderers. Hoover was helpless to do anything to compel honest and fair business and investment. The same unscrupulous lines are in the open controlling Landon. Roosevelt has done the only thing ever attempted to require honesty in the investment world.

Roosevelt put banks under such regulations of honesty that banks do not fail and savings are insured. He instituted the Securities and Exchange Commission to stop selling securities which have no value. He secured the law to eliminate superfluous Holding Companies which exist only to rob the people to profit financial racketeers. He established the Tennessee Valley Administration for the welfare of the people. Every step of these efforts for reform and honesty was fought by Wall Street, by the Morgans, Kuhn Loebs, Insulls and Hopsons and all others of their type. The honest business men either joined the racketeers in opposing regulations for honesty, or stood silently by. Now when you come out and say that in justice and reason this good work should go on and not be repealed and defeated, you receive the condemnation of all whose eyes are closed and who choose not to reason. Thinking conservatives will stand with you believing that we need honesty and the Golden Rule in business and investments. We have seen that business wants to be let alone to continue to control government and finance for piratical profiteering. The votes are not counted as I write. It is noon of election day. We who want the welfare of all ought to have faith in each other and in the right and be not divided in blindness, but work together for honesty and helpfulness. Success to you.

Massachusetts. M. C. W.

SIR: Now the big event is over, and Roosevelt is on the winning side, I want to say just a word in commendation of your editorial in support of President Roosevelt. You received a shower of bitter letters, and apparently you committed a grave offense in the stand you took. I liked your editorial, it suited me, and though I am a minister, yet I dared to vote for the re-election of the President.

I read carefully the letters against you, and I felt bad, particularly on seeing the name of one of our ministers in this part of the state.

I do want to express my appreciation of your stand. Many thanks.

Ohio. W. S.

SIR: When children fail to get their own way on the playing field they may take their bat and ball and go home and thus break up the game. Their opinion right or wrong is all that matters. Certain grown-ups, and I am sorry to say mostly ministers, were displeased with your action in voting for President Roosevelt, so they cut off their subscriptions to your magazine, thus hoping to break up this merry game of searching for truth and evaluating others' ideas. Thank goodness their opinion is not all that matters. That they have the right and privilege to voice their dissatisfaction of your choice of president is understood, but when they seek to throttle your freedom of expression by threats and coercion they step out of their role as ministers of Christ for the time being and become persons of much less influence and idealism.

It isn't necessary that I agree with everything that you write in your editorials or articles. In fact I have often disagreed and when that happens I notice the stimulation to my own thought is even greater. It is important however that we as ministers keep alive and growing the principles of freedom and the voices of religion in this country and the world over that are struggling so hard to be heard. If you had said you vote for Atheism or Hitlerism I would have joined the clamor of voices against you. As a minister it would be my duty to try to put you out of business because you would be attempting to destroy religion and freedom. But when your offense is to simply state why you vote for the man you do, for me to tell you that you have no right to do so and because you do I will stop my subscription is in the same intellectual category, and moral as well, as taking my bat and ball and going home.

When Governor Landon was called upon to introduce Socialist Norman Thomas at a Socialist meeting, quoting Voltaire, Governor Landon said: "I wholly disapprove of what you say but will defend to the death your right to say it." Yes you have the right to say what you believe; we have the right to voice our disapproval. But when we threaten to put you out of business for expressing your opinion, we are only jeopardizing our own right to preach the truth in freedom from our own pulpits.

Connecticut. F. H. T.

SIR: As one who today did not cast his vote for Roosevelt, I want to express my appreciation for The Christian Century's maintaining their courageous editorial policy. The editor could not but have known that an editorial like "For President: Roosevelt" would cost the publication many subscriptions. At a time when the institutionalized and implemented organs of Christianity are cautiously compromising rather than lose their prestige, it comes as a ray of light renewing confidence.

The policy is also a functioning denial of the compartmentalization of Christianity, which a secularized society has so long and so successfully maintained. If The Christian Century does not bring its influence to bear upon every area of life, it would repudiate the universal validity of the Christian message and influence.

Kansas. J. S. W.

SIR: The Christian Century of Nov. 4 has just been scanned. I am astonished to learn how terribly intolerant your readers have proved to be. I supposed that your readers were too free in spirit for such an attitude of mind as many of them have displayed. I do not exactly agree with you as to voting for Roosevelt, but I see clearly that you have a lot of reason for your view. Perhaps you are nearer the absolutely right than I am. Who knows? Of one thing I am very sure, that your decision was made at the dictation of your conscience and not your purse, at the behest of your splendid thought and not at the demand of any partisan or selfish interest.

Your editorial in the issue of Oct. 28, "For President: Roosevelt," is one of the finest I have ever read. The last two paragraphs mount up to the sublime in expression; they express a great fact with force and clearness. May God help you as he surely has been doing and uphold you in making The Christian Century a mighty force for the coming of the Kingdom of God.

Alabama. H. D. W.

SIR: I am not writing for publication, but having just read the storm of protests sent you by critics of your article in support of President Roosevelt, it seems to be a duty to modify their acerbity with a word of praise.

The votes are being cast today and the result will not be known for some hours, and now is the time to say that after reading a vast quantity of campaign literature on both sides, your editorial was the best and sanest summary of the real issues that I have seen. I gave it to a red hot republican woman to read, one who had been bamboozled into the idea that the re-election of Roosevelt would ruin the country and she was deeply impressed by it.

This whole campaign has been one for the befuddlement of voters. The letters you publish show how many ministers are completely ignorant of the real social and economic problems that have to be solved. The action of Yale in dropping Jerome Davis is another evidence of the grip of entrenched wealth on our institutions. With church and college bellowing the slogans of their financial bosses, it is little wonder that the masses of the people become hopeless of any help from those quarters. Unless Roosevelt and his party succeed in curbing these influences and establishing such reforms as are needed to give economic security and justice to the proletariat, by peaceful democratic methods, we shall witness in America more direct action, which will treat the apostles of liberty for the millionaires and exploitation for the workers with much less tenderness.

What has happened in Russia and Spain *can* happen here, and if it does the churches will face extinction. I think your course as advocated in The Christian Century is wise, Christian and statesmanlike. Don't be discouraged.

Delaware. W. A. V.

SIR: Whatever you may say in favor of the president nothing he has or can do will atone for his leadership in the Introduction of the Curse of the Liquor Traffic. That alone renders impossible his professed industrial and social betterment. I do not understand how you have all along ignored this evil doing. I could say much more but if this is not sufficient it is useless to say more to you.

Pennsylvania. J. F. M.

SIR: I suppose you do me more good when you differ with me than when we agree, but your editorial for Roosevelt in Oct. 28 issue, seems to me written when Conscience was on a vacation.

You had not seen the inclosed and had forgotten the hundreds that die on our highways—many of them on account of alcohol. Must all moral considerations be eliminated from politics? Can a people be free who will not govern themselves? Any man who surrenders so absolutely to the liquor traffic as our President cannot have my support.

Iowa. A. E. G.

SIR: The sooner we forget the bitterness, violence and dishonesty of the presidential campaign, the better for all of us, of course. But the letters which protested so vehemently against the editorial "For President" in your journal, and the many similar letters for which you had no space, carry a moral and a warning which should not be overlooked or slurred over. It is clear that too many ministers are pathetically ignorant of the realities and struggles in American life, of the vital difference between political democracy and economic democracy, between true liberty and the liberty-league liberty. How can such men lead their congregations and discharge their functions?

If the ministers, with few splendid exceptions, will limit themselves to platitudes and empty generalities, the intelligent people everywhere will simply desert the churches. They already have given up the press, and the editorials which sophistically and insincerely defend the present economic society are either not read at all, or else read with amused contempt. "What do you expect of plutocracy and Big Business?" people say and vote contrary to the fanatic and hypocritical advice of their "favorite" papers. The editorial pages have so little influence that they might as well be abolished, provided, of course, the news pages are reformed and converted into genuine news pages—which, today, they are emphatically not!

The ministers who have attacked you and threatened to discontinue their subscriptions are setting a poor example to the men and women they profess to lead and guide. They *need* The Christian Century. They need its able, candid and vigorous editorials and articles. They need contact with fact and truth, which many of their well-to-do supporters would have them shun and ignore.

And permit a veteran journalist to add a word of advice to them. In addition to earnest and conscientious study of your

journal, they should procure and read, and ponder a few solid and illuminating books — George's "Progress and Poverty," Norman Thomas's "Human Exploitation," Bingham's "Insurgent America," to begin with. These books would open their eyes and their minds, and they would become aware of new tendencies and new ideas in American and world politics and economics. They would have something to say in their sermons, and wage-workers, liberals and progressives would return to the churches.

Illinois. V. S. Y.

SIR: We are amazed to learn that you back Roosevelt for re-election. You say the privileged forces are back of Landon. Isn't it the privileged forces that keep the churches going? There is only one conclusion to come to and that is that you want the churches done away with, as they are in Russia and Germany. You know as well as we do that the President is a communist and wants to become a dictator, and you are helping it along. If you did not write the article yourself have the guilty one retract it for he is a fool.

Minnesota. J. A. C.

SIR: I am sorry to find your editorial, "For President: Roosevelt," in the October 28 issue. I do not deny your right to an opinion but I do regret that you withheld that opinion until six days before the election, thus preventing a reply from any of your readers. Even so, I cannot refrain from saying that I do not agree with many of your statements, or with your analysis—and much less with your conclusion in the last paragraph, which if true is an indictment against almost all the ministers and church members of my acquaintance, who cannot support Mr. Roosevelt.

Illinois. W. H. N.

SIR: My subscription expires within a short time. Kindly discontinue it. Naturally, one has a perfect right to his own opinion on the present state of the country. But I cannot agree with The Christian Century's notion that editorials may violate the courtesy of partisan loyalty as a private affair. The present administration, from the President's family down, have aided and abetted the break-down of the religious sanctions which are held by many conscientious people. If these have no value to religious journals, where can be look for creating sentiment that will make such sanctions of national consequence?

I am sorry you have taken this view. Having been a reader of your journal for many years, I have learned to appreciate the liberal attitudes which must come to be the ultimate convictions in religion. But there are other things of value, and for myself, the spiritual motives which underlie human welfare, must surely give meaning to whatever direction we are to take in the social and economic currents for the future. Your reasons for the stand taken may be wholly convincing to you. To others, these reasons are as empty of significance, as two people may differ widely on essential issues.

There are tens of thousands of good people, who believe that the present shattered morale of the churches, and the social confusion of the times, may be attributed in a very large measure to the President and his immediate circles of influence. Somewhere, there ought to be a limit to which professedly religious leadership can safely go.

Colorado. C. W.

SIR: I wish you would strike my name off from the list of your subscribers. When I subscribed to your periodical I felt that I was subscribing to a reasonable and liberal interpretation of theological questions and social policies.

The espousal of the cause of a political party is offensive to me, especially where the candidate supported seemed to have been untrue to his promises. Moreover the policy which some of the editorials and signed contributions commend seems to me to have leaned especially in the more recent numbers to a theory of society which if carried out to fulfilment would lead us back to a semi-savage state where the chief is everything and the members of the tribe left with only a single mode of resistance —brute force.

District of Columbia. D. S. S.

SIR: Will you kindly note that I shall want "The Christian Century" discontinued with the expiration of my present subscription. I am writing now in order that the matter may not be overlooked at the time.

It would not be frank for me to take this action without giving a reason. Your recent editorial on the political situation, in which you advocated the re-election of President Roosevelt, and your featuring the editorial on your title page, was the final fact that brought me to the decision expressed above. I do not care to discuss in detail the ethics of this performance of The Christian Century. You have a right to be a partisan political organ, if you choose to be that, but if, as a non-partisan religious journal, in the last days of a presidential campaign, without any warning of intention to declare a partisan position, you choose to advocate the election of one presidential candidate as against the other, you cannot complain if your subscribers, exercising the same liberty, believe your conduct to be unfair and conclude that they cannot go along with you.

The campaign incident is not, however, the sole cause of my attitude. On June 18, 1935, I sent you a communication which you neither published nor acknowledged, in which I expressed my feeling that a little less dogmatism and a little more humility would be desirable. My feeling still is that the tone of your editorial work, while exceedingly able, is dogmatic and self-opinionated to a degree that has been disturbing to your readers. I enjoy controversy and have no objection to your hitting as hard as you like in any cause in which you believe, but let there be no taint of the qualities just objected to. Let me say also that I have heard others of your readers express opinions similar to mine upon your editorial work.

The above is written to explain my action expressed in the first paragraph, and not at all for the purpose of making a controversy. You are under no obligation whatever to pay any attention to my criticisms.

Massachusetts. C. M.

SIR: I am sorry to return herewith the renewal slip for my subscription to The Christian Century for 1937, as I have regularly read the Century for a number of years. I have had great confidence in the policy and judgment of the editorial expressions. I read the articles with a feeling that your conclusions were justified by the facts. I did not always agree with your conclusions, but always respected them.

When I opened the copy of October 28 and read the editorial on Roosevelt for President, I was amazed beyond description. The arguments were so flimsy, and so contradictory to your former position that I could not but wonder whether you had been offered a portfolio, or whether Farley has promised you a post office, or whether you expected a W P A shovel. You failed to touch the great and fundamental moral principles of the administration. To base your decision on your statement that "The republican campaign has not developed a genuine alternative to the program of the present administration" is thin air, and carries no argument, even. In former expressions you have criticized the facts of the dictator tendency, of the creating of a permanent unemployee class, the setting of groups against each other, the un-American and unconstitutional methods of personal greed and ambition, etc., etc.

I have always regarded The Christian Century as an unbiased, non-partisan guide in world affairs as well as in religious discussions, but this mysterious "flopping" in the face of the actions and tendencies involved is so gross a violation of what we would expect, that I shall not spend the money nor take the time to study the expressions of The Christian Century.

Pennsylvania. J. M. S.

SIR: Geo. Wm. Allison's letter in your "correspondence" of Nov. 4 expresses my mind on your "For President" editorial. This editorial is the "last straw" in a series of material that is a

menace in your paper. I shall let your periodical run to the end of the present subscription; there I shall stop. This is written on election day, but will be mailed before polls close.

Maine. C. W. C.

SIR: The impulse to write has often come to us but as we felt sure many others would respond, we have left it to them. The response to your statement and analysis of why you supported Roosevelt has stirred many. Judging from the letters received, we conclude that the South is not the only provincial section of the world. Of course the election was a secret and you were not supposed to have an opinion. Certainly not an opinion that differed from your subscribers'. That you sustained that relationship of a pastor to the church sounded a bit funny. If you were to have an opinion it ought to be based on liquor which both parties made a primary issue. The idea that you would dare to bring out an economic issue which ought to be seen only by the rich alumni in our Universities, when they want to get rid of a troublesome fact or factor in the way of a teacher, seems to disturb. You have irritated me too, at times but it's delightful to be made to think even about a subject that disturbs you. Of course we were going to get up thousands of subscriptions but now we won't. That brings a laugh. I like your paper. I like it when I don't agree with it. I like it when you are burning the South or the Baptists. I am a Baptist. I believe in your honesty. The only hope of America is in honest thinking, open discussion and a fair spirit.

Georgia. J. C. W.

SIR: Nix, Mr. Editor! Unforgotten yet is your abortive "leadership" of some five years ago when you were to point the church the way out of the critical conditions which you asserted were weighing her down; the superficial grounds on which you swallowed the condemnatory report of that ridiculous missionary investigating committee, your criticism confusing thousands of our church members and costing the various boards of the churches immense sums of missionary contributions; and your latest example of inconsistency in endorsing repealist Roosevelt after talking half the time as though you were more in sympathy with socialist Thomas.

Just what *do* you *believe* anyhow? In the holy spirit? In regeneration? In the supernatural? In Christ the Son of God? Are there any granite stones in your foundation of belief? Have you planks in your platform that you are willing to announce *unqualifiedly* and fight for?

Frankly, you have appeared most of the time to be a straddler. A friendly straddler, it is true, but a straddler. Hence The Christian Century is equally acceptable to Jew and Unitarian. Whether there is a God is open to question and debated for months by infidel professors who write as though Christ were dead.

Pennsylvania. P. J. G.

SIR: I was amazed at reading the letters in The Christian Century this week in criticism of your fine editorial on "For President." I suppose that those who are pleased with such an editorial are more likely to remain quiet about it than the ones who are opposed. Personally, I liked the editorial very much indeed. It was a fair and discriminating analysis of the whole situation and merited nothing but praise.

We have just concluded a district gathering of some fifty Methodist preachers. Ministers on the whole keep quiet about their politics, but they are more apt to reveal their convictions after election than before. I found that almost without exception the more liberal and socially minded men voted for President Roosevelt. This was especially true among the younger ministers.

South Dakota. H. C. C.

SIR: If yours were the only paper in the world, I would not read it.

Michigan. C. E. L.

SIR: In the last Christian Century I note in your correspondence that you mention most of letters disagreed with your editorial in Oct. 28 issue on "For President." I was surprised but I figured it out that those who agreed with you must be in the majority but did not take the trouble to write, appreciated it very much as I did. I thought it was an excellent editorial, but as I had written you of how much I enjoyed Stanley High's article I did not consider it wise to bother you again with another letter. Since I read the correspondence in the last issue, I must speak up. I suppose those who were opposed to Roosevelt wrote, the rest of us did not. I live in Kansas and I made a thorough study of this whole political situation. I can't understand how any one who was really interested in a practical religious world could be against Roosevelt.

I was in a Diocesan meeting of clergymen last week, and not a word was said, as I recall, in that meeting about the big task of what it meant to support Mr. Roosevelt, no there were other matters, the same old tweedle and tweedle dum. It is true the special speaker gave very interesting and worthwhile talks, but a very big issue was passed over. But we did discuss it in our different little groups. Well, anyway, why worry now, the people have spoken and our faith in humanity should be strengthened. When we play fair and square with people, I wonder if in the majority of cases, they won't play the game fifty-fifty. With the best wishes and many thanks for your great thought-provoking articles. Keep them coming!

Kansas. B. H. S.

SIR: Recently you have received my first subscription to The Christian Century. I subscribed largely because of the stimulation I have received from reading it in public libraries, and not because its editorial policy agrees with me on all points. Those qualities which I admire most in the editor are his personal and courageous convictions and his ready apology when his attention has been called to an error.

It was rather amusing, and at the same time irritating, to read the correspondence in the November 4 number concerning those who are stopping their subscriptions because they dislike *one* of your editorials. I think that it is within the experience of us all that we have been stimulated and clarified in our thinking by others who absolutely disagree with us. I'm glad my subscription at this time will counteract another of those which will not be renewed.

Missouri. E. B.

SIR: My subscription to your paper will expire in June, 1937. Will you please note that I do not wish to continue it after that time. I am extremely sorry that you saw fit to publish in your Oct. 28 issue the editorial advocating the re-election of President Roosevelt.

Massachusetts. C. B. C.

SIR: I was about to renew by subscription for my husband's birthday. Last night he was reading a few back numbers of The Christian Century and told me he wanted the paper no longer. We cannot subscribe to the havoc that Mr. Roosevelt has wrought. We feel his election was accomplished by dishonest means and on borrowed money, so we do not want your opinions any more for how could you be right in other matters.

New York. M. D. V. N.

SIR: While I have no objection to the publication of this letter, its purpose is not for publication, but merely to comfort you with the opinion that the absence of expressed approval of your recent editorial endorsement of President Roosevelt was no evidence of the absence of commendation. I was in complete accord with the editorial, but it did not occur to me to say anything about it except to recommend it to my friends. This was probably the attitude of most of the readers of The Christian Century.

I doubt if many readers of The Christian Century will sympathize with the point of view that it is beyond the jurisdiction of a religious journal to express opinions in matters of economics and government. I am wondering if this point of view has not had much to do with giving religion the rather colorless place

of ineffectiveness which it occupies in the public mind today. It seems to me that any religion which is not brought to bear upon the whole of life is utterly inadequate for this day in which we live, and that a religious journal which has no convictions on the present day's vital questions of economics and government would have neither appeal nor influence.

The thing that I like best about The Christian Century is that it has convictions and the courage to express them, and I promise you that, when I disagree with you as I may do at times, I will neither question your right to think and speak freely, nor imply that you can be influenced to modify your course, by threatening to cancel my subscription, for such reprisal as that would be neither sportsmanlike nor Christian. The Christian Century is useful to me because it is independent and courageous. Long may she wave!

North Carolina. A. W. M.

SIR: Enclosed please find money order to pay for a year's subscription to The Christian Century with one of the special rate certificates. This subscription is for the local Baptist minister. This subscription is a donation by me for the cause your magazine so well represents. I know a large number of magazines. In its field, I consider yours the best one published.

I was interested in the array of letters published in the Nov. 4 issue. It seems a pity there are so many who feel that ours is a static society and must be kept so. I cannot share this view. It is regrettable to realize there are so many who make prohibition a fetish. I am opposed to the liquor traffic; but it looks foolish to me to insist that we stop feeding those who are in want, stop providing them work since industry has failed to do so, until we first make sure that we outlaw the liquor traffic.

The Christian Century is splendid. May it long remain independent and exemplify the intelligence it does.

Wisconsin. J. E. G.

SIR: This is not a "stop-my-paper" letter—The Christian Century is too valuable for that—but a friendly note of regret.

I have just read your editorial in the Oct. 21 issue on "For President" and I find myself asking: Why does a religious journal, committed to the application of the Christian ethic to existing society, find it necessary to take a partisan stand, i.e., backing a given political candidate, in order to fulfil its mission as a mentor of moral principle and spiritual truth?

The strength of a religious journal, and the essential validity of its appeal, lie in its complete disassociation from *parties,* and, by extension, from party candidates. The retort that a given candidate best exemplifies the application of the principles for which the paper stands, while possessing surface appeal, quite ignores the patent fact that "taking sides," politically, is regarded by most people as quite beyond the province of a religious journal.

A minister, as an individual citizen, has every right to his opinion and choice as between parties and candidates. No thinking person denies him such a right. But a congregation would be quite justified in resenting his proclaiming a partisan position from his pulpit. In that sense, politics and preaching don't mix.

A religious journal occupies a pulpit. Its serried pages are a platform, a sacred platform, from which Christian truths are proclaimed. It is not spineless trimming to avoid taking sides for or against given parties and candidates—it is journalistic common sense as applied to journalistic leadership, in the realm of *religious* journalism.

The Christian Century is outstanding in its advocacy of "the rights of the underprivileged," but it is not the only religious journal so visioned. Its editors, who formulate its policies, may be convinced, as individuals, that a given candidate should be elected. They certainly are entitled, as individuals, so to vote. The moment, however, that The Christian Century, as a religious journal, proclaims such an advocacy, it becomes a political pleader and oversteps that invisible but real line demarcating the biased and the unbiased.

To claim that it takes such a partisan position because it has always stood, as it believes religion must stand, for the rights of the underprivileged, is to court the inference that those who take other positions and back other candidates are not sufficiently motivated by religious conscience. The inference is unwarrantable, of course, and The Christian Century does not make any such absurd claim, but it does throw about its choice the mantle of religious sanction and definitely suggest that he who recognizes these principles must inevitably choose that candidate.

The Christian Century is clipping its own wings.

Delaware. E. F.

SIR: As many others must have done I turned first of all in The Christian Century this morning to your editorial in favor of the re-election of Mr. Roosevelt. I read it with deep interest. There is much that I would like to write; but I shall restrain myself to comment on just two of your statements.

"The inflation issue is academic." I wish very much that I could convince myself of this. There are some weighty witnesses against you: Kemmerer of Princeton, Douglas the former budget director and Babson the business diagnostician. With the possible exception of the last none of them have a political axe to grind. All of them are agreed that if controls are not put upon our governmental outgo we shall reach, within a measurable number of years, the French, if not the German, type of inflation. It is hard to gainsay such authorities. And I see no reason why we can expect Mr. Roosevelt to put the safety brake upon our deficits. Inflation of the type that is certain to come means, of course, the disintegration of the political and economic forms to which, throughout our national history, we have become accustomed. What will succeed them? Would it be fascism? No one knows. But surely one is not "seeing things at night" in facing what seems a rather fearsome eventuality. "His administration has known no Teapot Dome." Surely it has known something much greater and threatening than that. It has remained for the Roosevelt-Farley machine to work out the formula of using public funds to keep their party in the saddle on a scale unknown before. The evidence for this is fairly complete. I do not see how it can be upset. And I have been puzzled beyond measure that so many social idealists who applaud Mr. Roosevelt's professed humanitarianism in one direction will not include in their thinking this serious threat in another.

But, even though I disagree with its main conclusion, I was heartily glad to read your editorial.

Michigan. F. F.

SIR: During my years in college, I became very skeptical as to the possibility of finding reliable and resolute workers for social change among religious groups. Here and there was a ray of hope, but by and large this meager light was obliterated under the deep black coat with which organized religion seemed to me to shield its support of the profit system.

Recently I was much pleased, and quite impressed, by the amount of courageous social thinking and action which has gone on in certain groups. And The Christian Century seemed to me to be a valuable organ through which these groups expressed themselves.

Therefore it was with keen regret that I read your editorial "For President" in the last issue. If that is the extent of the social thinking of the more progressive groups in organized religion, I see that we will have to look elsewhere for support in our struggle for a better world.

You were ostensibly weighing the issues and candidates of the presidential campaign—yet only two political parties were mentioned. I know that perhaps a majority of your readers feel that the issue was between those two parties. There are others, however, and in spite of your editorial I believe that they are not without significance, who find value and importance in political movements which are seeking fundamental social change.

I know that the campaign will be over with by the time anything can reach your readers on the subject, but I would really like to know why you prefer Roosevelt and the democratic party (for you cannot have the one without the other), to Norman Thomas and the socialist party, or Earl Browder and the communist party, or the other candidates and parties in the field.

I disagree fundamentally with your analysis of the Roosevelt administration. You claim that it "has shown its deep seated concern for the welfare of those elements in the national life which have hitherto exercised least influence." Do you mean that? In

spite of what that administration did in the textile, automobile, and other strikes? In spite of what it has done to the sharecroppers? In spite of its Cuban policy? In spite of the increasing curtailment of civil liberties in democratic states? In spite of the huge increase in profits, the eleven million unemployed, the curtailment of relief, and a thousand other things which could be mentioned? Where has the administration shown that "deep seated concern," except where its hand was forced either by the demands of organized groups of workers and their supporters, or by fear of the consequences of inaction?

I know that you disagree with much that the administration has done. You said as much in your editorial. But your final considered judgment of the Roosevelt administration indicated a faith and belief and hope in that "deep seated concern" for the underprivileged, which I do not believe will stand a close objective scrutiny.

However my chief criticism of your editorial does not lie in your analysis of the administration. It lies in your analysis of the fundamental issues in the campaign. Mr. Editor, I know that both you and your readers are vitally concerned with the question of war and peace. And I submit *this* was the most important issue, however cleverly sidetracked by all the political parties except the socialist. You are indeed optimistic if you believe that the next administration will not have to decide whether we are to go to war again or not. War will come to the world during the next four years, and you know it, or are led astray by your passionate hope for peace. I am a young man, and all my hopes for a decent life lie in living in a world at peace. All that I most earnestly want—the chance to do the work I love, the opportunity to enjoy the beauty which could be mine, the hope for a rich family life—in the last analysis, my very physical life itself, are threatened by the imminence of war. These are the things decided in this campaign. In the face of this, Mr. Editor, how can you offer me Mr. Roosevelt and the Democratic party?

This is a long letter, Mr. Editor, perhaps too long a one. But I feel that you have done me a personal injury, for you have influenced those who might have joined in the fight for peace to support a man and a party and an economic system which in the next four years will try to thrust a sword into my hand and tell me to go out and kill, or will try to kill me for resisting them.

In conclusion, I can do no more than to say that you, as a force in the religious movement in this country, have disappointed me bitterly. Norman Thomas and the Socialist party have taken a bold, clear stand for peace. They alone were worthy for your support. You did not even deign to mention them. Mr. Editor, *is* that the best we can hope for from people in the religious movement?

New York H. H.

SIR: Prof. John Macmurray, in his *Creative Society,* maintains that "religion offers two ways of salvation, the way of truth and the way of illusion." The second of these ways he calls "pseudo-religion" and implies that this is the dominant characteristic of our present organized Christianity. This thesis is strikingly illustrated in the impatient letters which appear in your issue of Nov. 4, and which united in condemning you for your support of President Roosevelt for re-election. How anomalous it is, in the light of the emphasis that Jesus placed upon reason, that it does not seem to have occurred to any of your critics that the Christian way to refute an erroneous opinion is to focus a larger truth upon it. In the light of this limitation it is not surprising that in their emotional disequilibrium your critics failed to see that if The Christian Century sought only to express their views, its value would be reduced to the lowest significance.

I am particularly interested in the irritability of the members of my own confraternity who maintain that it is not proper to deal with politics "in a journal of religion." Here we have the mainspring of pseudo-Christianity. These men, who unquestionably express the opinion of large numbers of the clergy, conceive of religion as something which functions *in vacuo.* How amazing that men who profess to see in the ancient prophets the spokesmen of God do not realize that these men were primarily concerned with the sordid injustices of their own time and were the champions of the poor and oppressed against those who were ruthlessly exploiting them. What is the value of religion if it is not expressed in and through the every day activities of those who experience its dynamic? Not only in Spain but in the United States we have a heart-breaking exhibit of the failure of the church to introduce the leaven of justice, integrity, and love, into all the relationships of life. The result is a shadowy fabrication of unreality in which religion is separated from politics, while business and morality are conceived in negative or in trivial terms. In the recent election, to the thoughtful voter, the question of war was momentous in its import, yet your caustic critics would prohibit you from dealing with the relative capacities of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Landon to meet the highly complex international situation. They would also have you ignore the opposing philosophies of the two major parties regarding the problem of neutrality.

Some of your critics also declare their opposition to Mr. Roosevelt because he is a "wet," blaming him for the repeal of prohibition. They fail to see that repeal was written in the book of destiny and that if the members of the churches, to say nothing of the political party which tardily and reluctantly espoused prohibition as a policy, had been sincere in its support, no man, however dominant in leadership, nor party, however zealous, could have secured its abrogation. The sad conclusion is that many of our religious teachers suffer from adult infantilism. To spend their energies in flogging the dead horse of repeal, when the world is on the edge of slithering into the abyss of a war that will destroy civilization, is surely the nadir of ineptitude. If the same fate is not to come upon the church in America that has befallen it in Russia, Germany, Mexico and Spain, it must correct the suicidal separation of its field of operation from education, business, and politics. What a tragedy it is that in the turbulence of the recent political campaign, with its strife of tongues and specious appeals to minor and sectional loyalties, so few of the clergy rose above the prejudices and obscurantism of their respective communities!

Pennsylvania. J. A. M.

SIR: Your editorial endorsing Mr. Roosevelt for President was a magnificent document. It warmed my heart and refreshed my spirit. On the other hand, what else could an intelligent and liberal journal do? Nothing else. But you did it in a superb editorial.

Alabama. R. C. K.

SIR: Will our religious leaders take sides? The Christian (?) Century has taken the side of atheistic communism. Any so-called Christian magazine that endorses a godless President and New Deal does not deserve the support of the American Christians.

New York. UNSIGNED.

SIR: You made a great mistake in urging the election of a man who has delivered this nation and its people, body and soul, as far as he could to the liquor interests. How could you do it? Sometimes the deepest wounds to the cause of righteousness are by its supposed friends.

Ohio. J. C. L.

SIR: I am enclosing check for renewal of my subscription to The Christian Century. May I say that in your editorial of October 28 the reason you gave for favoring Roosevelt for re-election was the chief reason why I voted for Landon. I never favored all of Mr. Roosevelt's policies. There seemed to me to be a willingness to try too many futile experiments without thinking them through. There was too much easy-going desire to be a "good fellow" to any man who presented an uncertain and sometimes preposterous scheme.

There never was any occasion for such careless handling of public funds. Money was squandered with too little to show for it. This was a matter of observation, not of propaganda. No private corporation would stand for such lack of business sense.

Rhode Island. H. J. P.

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